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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles represents the state of the art with regard to understanding and attending to cross-cultural issues in Alaskan education. The views presented by the various authors indicate some of the approaches being taken to ameliorate what are probably the most vexing problems faced by educators anywhere in the country. The articles were selected to present a variety of views on a wide range of issues, all associated with the complex cross-cultural problems inherent in the delivery of educational services to Alaska's multicultural population. The authors are all active participants in the processes and programs they describe, though the views presented are their own. The book is divided into sections that deal with educational policy, educational development, community/school, teaching/learning, and language issues. (Author/IRT)

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CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES IN ALASKAN EDUCATION

Edited by
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and the X-CED Staff
Cross-Cultural Education Development Program

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FOREWORD

In recent years the number of individuals and organizations in Alaska concerned with cultural considerations in education has grown substantially. Books, essays, manuals, and texts on cross-cultural education are now found in every region of the country. Indeed, "culture" or culture relevance as a consideration in the curriculum is often ranked as one of the top five issues confronting teachers everywhere. Thus, it is consistent with these developments that a volume on cross-cultural issues in Alaskan education has now emerged.

From the quantity of material on the subject of cross-cultural issues now appearing, it might be assumed that cross-culturalism will endure the test of time. More importantly, however, as an indicator as to whether we are experiencing only a passing fancy or something of permanence in the education systems of the United States is the question of quality. Quality of thought, of course, will determine the pervasiveness of cross-cultural concepts and their ultimate staying power. If the theoretical rationale behind cross-cultural considerations is sound enough, improved curriculum and teaching will not be far behind. Cross-culturalism in public education then may one day become the norm. For those of us who espouse this end, books, such as *Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education,* serve to move us in the right direction. Albeit, the articles in *Cross-Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education* are not final pronouncements – few in the material printed today are – they do invoke thought, criticism, and discussion and thereby can make a positive contribution.

One of the problems in examining cross-cultural issues anywhere is lack of consensus as to the meaning of the term "cross-cultural education." In a field that has grown this fast several definitions come to mind. Thus, before a person embarks on some aspect of cross-cultural education, be it a scientific study of the subject or an emotional militant campaign (or, as is the case with most of us, somewhere in between), we must define the term. I find the definition for intercultural education set forth by John Walsh in his book, *Intercultural Education and the Community of Man,* meets this need. According to Walsh,

> Intercultural[1] education is the process by which one looks beyond his own culture and attempts to understand and appreciate how persons of other cultures interpret the life of man and the things of nature, and why they view them as they do.[2]

[1]Walsh prefers the term intercultural but accepts cross-cultural as having the same meaning.

[2]John E. Walsh, *Intercultural Education and the Community of Man,* The University Press of Hawaii, 1973, p. 13.

Application of this definition for cross-cultural education, it seems to me, requires inclusion of all individuals or groups of individuals in all geographic locations. In essence, what the definition requires is that no one in a cross-cultural situation be considered exempt from the conditions imposed by the concept. The very use of the prefixes "cross" or "inter-" or "trans-" requires that programs developed under their meaning must apply equally to the teacher as well as the pupil. In short, in any cross-cultural situation everyone involved is a teacher and everyone involved is a pupil regardless of the prescribed title or role assigned by the system. It is every bit as damaging to the learning situation for the teacher to fail to "look beyond his own culture" as it is for the pupil. When both teachers and pupils are able to interchange roles spontaneously in a cross-cultural situation, the stigma and consequent limitations of roles can be overcome. Classroom situations may thereby ultimately become truly cross-cultural situations in themselves. The resultant climate of mutual respect for each other and for learning could then mean far more than all of the cross-cultural materials and curricula presently being developed and debated.

Broad statements and altruistic concepts espoused in general introductions to books such as this one are a far cry from the real world of the everyday classroom. What transpires daily between "teacher" and "pupil" is far more complex than any definition for cross-cultural education; opportunities for situations culminating in frustrations seem ever to increase. Still, consideration of broad guidelines, such as the definition used here, may help others put their work into perspective, especially those working in the remote, small schools of rural Alaska. And these articles, with specific ideas and suggestions, may indeed help make the cross-cultural Alaskan classroom more productive and thus more satisfying for all concerned. It is to this end that Dr. Barnhardt has compiled and edited the following material; organized in such a way that articles pertaining to broad areas within cross-cultural education may be brought to bear on "understanding and appreciating how others interpret life."

Frank Darnell
Professor of Education and
Director, Center for Northern
Educational Research

PREFACE

The following collection of articles represents the "state of the art" with regard to understanding and attending to cross-cultural issues in Alaskan education. The views presented by the various authors indicate some of the approaches being taken to ameliorate what are probably the most vexing problems faced by educators anywhere in the country. The articles were selected to present a variety of views on a wide range of issues, all associated with the complex cross-cultural problems inherent in the delivery of educational services to Alaska's multicultural population. The authors are all active participants in the processes and programs they describe, though the views presented are their own.

The original idea for this collection grew out of a symposium on "Native Education in Alaska" presented by staff and students of the Cross-Cultural Education Development Program (X-CED) at the Society for Applied Anthropology meeting in St. Louis, in March, 1976. The papers presented at the symposium served as a core around which the other articles were assembled. Some of the papers included here have been circulating for awhile amongst small groups of people, but only a few have been available to a broad public audience. The intent of this publication is to provide for this broader dissemination, and to encourage interaction and exchange of ideas on the issues.

The collection is dedicated to the late Bill Vaudrin, who, through his personal commitment and effort to improve educational opportunities in Alaska, was a primary force in bringing about the shift to local control of education currently taking place throughout the State. His legacy is best reflected in his writing, of which excerpts have been selected with the help of Conny Katasse, and are included here with the kind permission of Dave Osterback. The excerpts introducing each section are taken from the Inupiat University Catalog (1975-76), with the exception of the poem in Part III, which was selected from a collection of unpublished poetry, and the excerpt introducing Part IV, which was taken from an article titled "Native/Non-Native Communication: Creating a Two-way Flow."

I wish to express my appreciation to the authors of the articles for permission to include their material, to Jim Stricks for designing the cover, to Mike Gaffney for his editorial assistance, to Jo Lu for typing the many versions of the papers, to Frank Darnell and the CNER staff for taking on the task of publishing the articles, and to the X-CED staff for their tolerance for ambiguity.

With that, I turn it over to you, the reader.

Ray Barnhardt, Editor

PART I

EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

Since most of the people of the world live in villages—and since, coincidentally, it is those same people who typically depend directly on the land for their subsistence and possess the smallest per-capita share of the world's material wealth . . . it should come as no surprise that developing delivery systems to provide any kind of educational opportunities in small villages has never been a local or international priority, since to do so with any real integrity would predetermine a heightened awareness on the part of these anthropolitically slumbering millions, which would have certain and irreversible consequences for the ruling classes, both locally and internationally, that would not at the outset appear desirable to them.

— Bill Vaudrin

The following articles are addressed to issues with policy implications for the development, implementation, and evaluation of education programs in Alaska. They are issues being confronted by educational administrators, planners, practitioners and boards throughout the state, and particularly in the 21 new Rural Education Attendance Areas. The development of educational services for rural Alaska is still in the early formative stages, compared to the rest of the country. Alaskans are, therefore, in a position to establish policies and create programs attuned to contemporary needs and conditions, provided they can overcome traditional habits of thinking and approach things from new perspectives. Though this may seem an obvious consideration in a cross-cultural environment, an examination of schools in even the remotest corners of the State will indicate that it rarely occurs, outside of some unavoidable concessions to the physical environment. Though the issues in the following articles are not new, the authors have attempted to address them in the context of the unique conditions and contemporary state of affairs in Alaska. They should, therefore, contribute to an ongoing dialogue out of which new policies and programs can emerge.

INUPIAQ EDUCATION

by

Eben Hopson
Mayor, North Slope Borough
Barrow, Alaska

Introduction

We Inupiaq are a nation of people occupying the circumpolar Arctic from Siberia through Alaska and Canada to Greenland. We share common values, language, culture and economic systems. Our culture has enabled us to survive and flourish for thousands of years in the Arctic where no other man or culture could. Among our entire international Inupiat community, we of the North Slope are the only Inupiaq who have achieved true self-government with the formation of the North Slope Borough. We have the greatest opportunity to direct our own destiny as we have for the past millenia.

Traditional Education

Possibly the greatest significance of home rule is that it enables us to regain control of the education of our children. For thousands of years, our traditional method of socializing our youth was the responsibility of the family and community. From the first, visitors to the Arctic have universally commented on the warm disposition of our children. Corporal punishment was absolutely unknown. Boys and girls began their education with their parents and, by the time they reached their teenage years, they had mastered the skills necessary to survive on the land here. From that time forward, the youth – with his family and within his community – devoted his attention to his intellectual and social growth.

Coercive Assimilationist Educational Era

Eighty-seven years ago, when we were persuaded to send our children to western educational institutions, we began to lose control over the education of our youth. Many of our people believed that formal educational systems would help us acquire the scientific knowledge of the western world. However, it was more than technological knowledge that the educators wished to impart. The educational policy was to attempt to assimilate us into the American mainstream at the expense of our culture. The schools were committed to teaching us to forget our language and Inupiat heritage. There are many of you parents who, like me, were physically punished if we spoke one Inupiat word. Many of us can still recall the sting of the wooden ruler across the palms of our hands and the shame of being forced to stand in the corner of the room, face to the wall, for half an hour if we were caught uttering one word of our native language. This outrageous treatment and the exiling of our youth to school in foreign environments were to remain the common practices of the educational systems. For eighty-seven years, the BIA tried to destroy our culture through the education of our children. Those who would destroy our culture did not succeed. However, it was not without cost. Many of our people have suffered. We all know the social ills we endure today. Recently, I heard a member of the school

personnel say that many of our Inupiaq children have poor self-concepts. Is it any wonder, when the school systems fail to provide the Inupiaq student with experiences which would build positive self-concepts when the Inupiat language and culture are almost totally excluded?

Self-Determination

Today, we have control over our educational system. We must now begin to assess whether or not our school system is truly becoming an Inupiat school system, reflecting Inupiat educational philosophies, or, are we in fact only theoretically excercising "political control" over an educational system that continues to transmit white urban culture? Political control over our schools must include "professional control" as well, if our academic institutions are to become an Inupiat school system able to transmit our Inupiat traditional values and ideals.

My children and yours spend many hours in school each day, 180 days each year for 12 years. Today, the socialization process of our youth includes the formal instruction received in our school system. It is precisely because of this that our school system must reduce the difference between the language and culture of the home and that of the school. We must now achieve "professional control" by examining the teacher and content of instruction. We must have teachers who will reflect and transmit our ideals and values. We must have Inupiat-centered orientation in all areas of instruction. I do not want my children to learn that we were "discovered" by Columbus or Vitus Bering. I do not want to hear that we were barbaric or "uncivilized." I do not want our children to feel inferior because their language and culture are different from those of their teacher. I do not want to see school planning surveys which list hunting, fishing, whaling or trapping as a "social" or "recreational" activity.

The Lands Claims movement and the self-determination attitude of the Alaska natives were largely responsible for the removal of the suppression of our native languages and culture: bilingual-instruction became the new educational policy. However, this has generally meant that we use English as our primary language of instruction and somehow integrate Inupiat into the curriculum. The North Slope Borough schools must implement a program that is bilingual and bicultural. Our children must be taught in our Inupiat language, with English as the secondary language. To attain this goal, we must have teachers who are bilingual and bicultural, knowledgeable in our Inupiat culture and values. This can be achieved either with instructors who are Inupiat or who have been trained in Inupiat.

I have made the distinction between "political control" and "professional control," our Inupiat School Board will be forced to always preside over a predominantly white cultural school district.

What can we do about this problem? We must develop a teacher recruitment and training program to satisfy our needs.

1. Foremost, we must encourage and train our own Inupiaq to become teachers.

2. Recruit responsive teachers who are willing to learn both the Inupiat Language and our cultural values.

3. Train teachers and offer financial incentives to those who become proficient in our language and culture, in addition to Inupiat history and idealogies.

4. Evaluate current teachers to insure Inupiat educational philosophies are being implemented.

I feel that these recommendations are realistic in view of the economic recession in the lower forty-eight but, most significantly, because of the universal developing awareness and appreciation of our lifestyles.

Americans are beginning to assess their own values compatible with our own. We can now afford to be selective of our teachers. I believe we have the capabilities to assess and recruit sensitive teachers. In addition, we should select teachers who are willing to become contributing members of the community. We must strive to break down the barrier between the community and the school: rather than being an integral part of the community, the latter resembles a colonial fort. We must end teacher segregation in the North Slope. We must rid ourselves of these temporary residents who are here merely for financial gain. A number of teachers have already demonstrated their willingness to live among us as neighbors and friends. They have become permanent members of the community; they identify with us and share our concerns.

Our teachers are the highest paid teachers in the entire United States. A teacher with no experience earns $16,000 for 9 months' work, while an experienced teacher can make $30,000. In addition to this, we pay for many of our teachers' living expenses: we pay their water, electricity and gas bills and over half their rent:

I pay $72 a month for lake water – Teachers pay nothing for BUI water. I pay $56 a month for electricity – Teachers pay nothing for their electricity. I pay $60 a month for gas – Teachers pay nothing for the gas they use.

A modern two-bedroom apartment in Barrow rents for $600 a month. Teachers pay $200 for a 2- and 3-bedroom apartment.

What are we getting for our money? We should be able to hire the best bilingual-bicultural teachers in the world. We should have teachers who can teach well in Inupiat schools. For our money, we should have the best schools in the nation, surpassing any of the elite prep schools in the East. We should have teachers who earn their keep by effectively teaching our children instead of those who believe they earn their way by demonstrating the mechanics of a pencil sharpener. Last year, our teachers negotiated a 20% monthly raise. Most of our own Inupiaq teachers are not certified teachers and were not included in the teacher union salary negotiations. As a direct result of the 20% wage increase, several Inupiat non-certificated teacher positions were cut from our school system. How can it be said that we have political control over our school when we allow such inequities?

The Borough is building new teacher housing which will be managed by our Borough Housing Authority to insure that our teachers are housed throughout Barrow and Browerville, as well as in our outlying villages. However, the housing is not adequate to desegregate a privileged class of people

with the advantages of a subsidy that all our other Borough citizens do not enjoy. Rather, I want teacher citizens, both white and Inupiaq, certified and non-certified, to share their cost of living with us. I want teachers to pay their own rent at fair market value. As the largest homeowner, the Borough Housing Authority can maintain the market fairly by keeping public housing rents as low as is economically feasible. I want our teachers to pay their own utility bills since this will most likely result in significant savings in both water and fuel.

I feel certain that the School Board members share my frustrations and concerns. I would like to suggest that the School Board seek the assistance of the Native American Coalition of School Boards who have themselves encountered the difficulties of breaking the yoke of a white-dominated school system. They should be able to provide the orientation necessary for a new School Board as it begins to assert itself. I would also like to suggest that the School District work closely with our Planning Department to evaluate the steps necessary to stop the operation of the BIA Assimilationist School and develop our own Inupiat schools.

It is important to remember the lessons of the past. In addition, we must search and master the new changes if we are to continue to dominate the Arctic. We have demonstrated we can survive the trespasses which have been perpetuated upon us. We have been successful in establishing our own home rule government. We have been able to achieve self-government. We must strive to insure that our Borough, our city governments and our school systems reflect our Inupiat ideals. We are Inupiaq.

RURAL SECONDARY EDUCATION: SOME ALTERNATIVE CONSIDERATIONS

by

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Introduction

This presentation is a concept paper, not a statistical treatment of school enrollment figures, costs, and logistics. The intent is to open consideration of a different approach to the delivery of secondary education in rural areas through a process of assessing and identifying existing resources for secondary education in the State, developing a community-based and environmentally oriented curriculum for grades nine and ten, then creating a sequence throughout the four-year program which would capitalize on the existing formal resources, and the community and environment as an educational resource.

Among the benefits of this approach are the effective utilization of existing facilities, a substantially decreased cost of the building program, greater involvement of the community in education, a more humanistic, experiential, and relevant high school program and a focus on teacher education processes. All these benefits would concurrently benefit the secondary school students and even be in the best interests of children at the elementary level.

The Problem

The pressures for providing secondary schooling on-site, at or near the home communities of the rural children, is intense from all quarters, legal, political, and moral. Among the results of such pressures has been a new regulation[1] which calls for the establishment of a secondary program in any community in which there is one or more secondary school-age persons and an elementary school, unless the community opts not to have such a program. But the new regulation does not deal with program development processes, or provide insight into available resources, or alternative systems. Yet it does specify certain conventional academic area minimum standards which, fortunately, can be altered through outlined procedures.

Also, at this writing, it appears likely that a large scale high school building program will commence; but a commitment of funds for construction doesn't suggest the nature of buildings best suited to fit the secondary programs which are yet to be developed.

Further, concern for the socio-economic impact of the new schools upon the communities is only recently awakening, much less there being

solutions on the horizon. Community awareness and focus on the essential need for creating constructive outlets for adolescent energies during the majority of their waking hours, those spent not in school, may at this stage be of greater importance and consequence then the design of the formal school curriculum itself. Consideration of new small high schools development without concurrent consideration of how they will alter the social fabric of communities and families risks serious consequences to all.

Resources and Premises

As a beginning, let us examine the secondary school system from the perspective of educational resources which currently exist, in order to compare what there is with what is needed. The difference will, of course, imply the magnitude of the problem and will indicate the requirements necessary to address it. In order to not confuse the issue, the problem should not be thought of in terms of cost in dollars. Personnel, materials, buildings, equipment, land, and transportation costs are not of a programmatic nature and should be set aside momentarily to enable us to conceptualize and explore unconventional alternatives.

For clarification, the term 'rural' in the context of this examination means communities which are isolated from each other and from the urban centers by a lack of the normal means of surface transportation necessary to provide for the movement of construction materials, supplies, equipment, and people at a cost reasonably near that of non-rural communities served by highway, rail, or regular enroute marine transportation. At one end of the rural spectrum are towns such as Bethel, Nome, Kotzebue, Dillingham, and Metlakatla. At the other end are villages such as Noorvik, Kongiganak, Nondalton, Angoon, Chakyitsik, and Allakaket.

The identification of resources traditionally seen as being encompassed within an educational facility is a simple matter: the teachers, the texts, a gym, the shops and labs, the libraries, music rooms, instruments, and so forth. The identification of existing secondary school facilities is the second step and, again, can be readily done. It is known how many rural and urban high schools there are, their size and locations, and whether they are day schools or boarding schools, local or regional. These facts enter into the consideration of a rural high school development plan, but should be dealt with at a later stage since the existence of such schools is only one component of an overall plan and must be dealt with in the context of total needs.

For sake of simplicity, several premises should be stated:

1. The existing rural elementary school facilities are not being fully or adequately utilized (evenings, summers, etc.).
2. All school age children and youth do not have to attend school (or go through the educational process) during the

same hours each day, days each week, or weeks each year.

3. Total time of exposure to formal educative processes spent by a person does not, within certain limits, relate directly to educational outcomes. (That is, there is no magic in 5 hours, 20 minutes per day for 188 days, or any other figure. The reasons for these teaching times and length of school year are based on other considerations having little to do with concern for the student.)
4. Increasing expenditures on traditional educational practices is not likely to improve educational outcomes substantially.[2]
5. Research has not identified a varient of the **existing** system that is consistently related to students' educational outcomes.[3]
6. Research tentatively suggests that improvement in student outcomes, both cognitive and noncognitive, may require sweeping changes in the organization, structure, and conduct of educational experiences.[4]
7. Secondary curricula do not have to be composed of an assemblage of subject of discipline-oriented units of instruction taught by persons whose knowledge is limited to one major and one minor subject in which he or she was schooled. Small high school programs can ill afford this approach, either financially (staff size and diversity) or educationally.
8. A thematic, problem-solving, experiential approach, coupled with an understanding of the processes for analyzing the knowledge, wisdom, values, and skills reflected in the community and the educational environment immediately at hand, should provide the base for overall instructional design.
9. To understand the world and the universe, a person must begin by gaining knowledge of the system of things immediately accessible and central to his or her life at any stage, at any place.
10. The community and its people, the creatures and the land, the weather, the language, and all things which together compose the environment are immediately accessible to all persons; this environment, and its relationships to others and that of the whole, provides an educational resource which transcends that of the formal school; the school is but one part of this educational environment, but from it and within it, can come the help often needed by children and youth to understand, and gain benefit from, the broader environment.
11. The perspective described above is either not shared by many educators or, assuming that it is, the approach to

education that it implies is not generally being carried out because it demands of the educator a deep knowledge of the environment in which the school is set. Without this knowledge the environment cannot be explored with young people, cannot be related to the larger environment, and cannot form a secure base from which the educator can influence the shape of the educational system or argue substantively for its improvement.

12. Colleges and universities tend to prepare educators and educational administrators for schools and school systems oriented to the needs of a society just past. The shift from a reactive role to an active and more forward looking, predictive role is crucial to the reform and improvement of (teacher) education.
13. Colleges and universities tend to not prepare teachers and administrators for schools to meet the needs of societies, cultures, and economic levels different from the norms of the larger society.

The thirteen premises are written to espouse a particular perspective on education. They collectively imply the nature of a small school's secondary program and system that may be appropriate for rural Alaska, and probably other rural places as well. Conceptually, they also apply to elementary level systems but, since elementary schools, their staffs, and their curricula are already established, the matter becomes one of intervention and change, rather than new planning.

Of essence is the implication that there are few teachers and school administrators who have been prepared to work with the creation and operation of an educational system such as would emerge if the premises were accepted and dealt with in systematic and programmatic terms. It's not a matter of wanting to or not wanting to, or a matter of willingness to improve the schools by risking demands for change. It's a matter of knowing how to go about it. For the future, it's a matter of the colleges and universities creating a teacher education program which focuses on contemporary needs of society and even projects itself a few years into the future.

Nevertheless, the resources of the profession are available. To capitalize on them needs only the commitment and cooperation of a few, the educational leadership, who must be open to change, sensitive to needs and cooperative in nature—with colleagues and with the communities. The university/school/community triad is essential.

The Process and Design

A videotape produced to illustrate a university course titled "Rural Community as an Educational Resource" shows under-graduate students working with elementary children in a rural Alaska community. Of significance is that no classroom was needed, either by the university professor, the teacher trainees, or the children. The school classroom was, in fact, a base of operation, but it could have been a community center, a home, or anywhere that 15-20 children could convene and in which a blackboard or

easel could be set up. It could have been a smaller room since desks and free 'turf' were not needed for the discussion of theory which preceeded stepping out of the building and into the larger environment. But the school was there and was used as it should be—not exclusively. Math theory on measurement, time, and velocity was placed in a practical and identifiable context by use of a watch, measuring tape, snowmachine, and a snowy road. The finding of field mouse burrows beneath snow covered grasses, the removal of part of the mouse's winter food supply and its preparation for human consumption dealt with a whole spectrum of man's relationship to the environment: conservation, survival, resourcefulness, food preparation, and history of a people. The university, school, community relationship was always present[5].

This is but a small example, used to illustrate some of the multitude of possibilities by which an **environmental curriculum** can be developed in places where the formal facilities of the typical modern urban school and its laboratories are not feasible.

This is not intended to diminish the value of modern facilities. It suggests, however, that proper **sequencing** of educational experiences throughout a rural area is a logical approach to secondary education.

Let us look at the five existing types of educational environments which might lend themselves to a rounded secondary education experience:

1. The rural community and its environs.
2. The boarding high schools.
3. The urban high school systems (including Career Centers) as associated with the boarding home program.
4. The existing small area or community high schools.
5. The larger rural community secondary day schools (or day school/boarding school) operations.

The first, the rural community, is not traditionally used as a formal educational environment.

The second and third are those which can be capitalized upon in an effective manner as a specific part of the sequencing plan but should not be considered as being the whole of the secondary experience.

As pertains to rural students, the last two are those which come closest to providing a formal secondary education without the potentially harmful, or at least interfering, effect on young persons (and their families) resulting from removing them from their home environment. Such schools are few in number and their scarcity is one of the problems which gives rise to this examination.

Testimony from rural Native students,[6] both informally and at formal hearings on the urban boarding home program, indicates conclusively that a large majority of ninth and tenth grade age youngsters are too young to handle their departure from home and their exposure to the city, its schools, and the alien cultural and social systems into which they are thrust. The negative manifestations of this uprooting and new exposure will not be dealt with here; the history of harm lies in many writings and testimony and the potential for harm appears self-evident. However, student testimony does

indicate a positive value to many of them, born of the resources which the urban schools and urban society provide, as long as the students are mature enough to handle the separation—high school juniors and seniors.[7]

Each of the five educational environments has its problems and its advantages. It's possible to solve or diminish the problems of each by utilizing the advantages of the others.

At the simplest level, the fundamental problems and advantages can be shown as follows:

	MAJOR PROBLEMS	MAJOR ADVANTAGES
1. Community Environment	Not generally accepted as a formal educational resource and thus, not traditionally capitalized on by teachers; difficult for educators to deal with if not familiar with the culture of the community; school/community linkages rarely established; relevance of this environment to the formal in-school process either unseen, ignored, or not capitalized upon.	A broad and deep educational resource; the place for application of theory and academic knowledge; can make the purpose of education real to the learner; provides for public involvement in educational processes; a microcosm of the broader society and structure; an identifiable core from which broader knowledge and understanding can grow; environment for affective growth.
2. Boarding High Schools	Removes children from home at a too early age; and of parental, cultural, and community influence; shifts responsibility for whole growth of child to educators alien to the cultures of the students; rigid control necessary to reduce overall group behavioral problems; isolation from community which houses the institution; segregated—little exposure to youth of dominant society; teachers ill-prepared to deal with education of culturally different youth.	Exposes youngsters to peers from other cultures and regions; provides health care; more variety in curriculum and in-school resources.

A cursory synthesis of the disadvantages of each indicates several predominant problems: (1) the community is too seldom utilized as an educational environment; (2) young people are removed from home at a too early age; (3) segregation and isolation is a problem but uncontrolled exposure to the dominant society and its structures is also a problem, not a solution; and (4) small schools may not adequately prepare students for continuing (post-secondary) education. Implicit overall is that educators continue to work within each of the educational environments (except the community),

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3. Boarding Home Program for Urban High Schools	Same as previous one except shifts responsibility to a shared situation between urban teachers and foster parents; exposure to dominant society at too early an age without needed preparation and, too often, without guidance; initiates racist feelings on part of urban whites when Native students are "academically behind, slow, shy, non-verbal, homesick."	Same as previous one; provides an intercultural environment; exposure to urban systems and institutions. (All of these which may benefit the more mature or older young person will likely have a negative or harmful effect on the less mature, rural youth.)
4. Community or Small Area High School	Lack of curricular variety, alternatives or depth; expensive to build, staff, and operate in numbers needed; few teachers trained in inter-disciplinary approach; too rarely capitalize on environment of community; not equipped to provide indepth concentration in an academic emphasis (college preparatory), limited labs and shops.	In or near home community of students; potential for capitalizing on community as an educational resource; teachers and school accessible to parents and school board (and vice versa.)
5. Larger Rural Community Secondary Day Schools	Often include facilities for boarding school operation (dorms, counselors) and have advantages and disadvantages in common with boarding schools. Since the day schools, or day school sections, serve only the residents of the community in which they are situated, their utilization as part of the sequencing proposition as relates to students from smaller villages cannot be a consideration.	

and are limited by the nature of each system. The discrete systems are not, and have never been, transcended and so the disadvantages are never disposed of.

Yet each system has its distinct advantages. The overriding problem is that of timing. To illustrate: for the high school junior who has gained a certain level of maturity, security, and academic development, the urban high school and urban society could well provide an academic and social experience of great value; the same high school and urban exposure for the freshman and sophomore is likely to be disorienting and traumatic with disadvantages far outweighing the benefits. Conversely, for the college-bound junior or senior student, the small high school program which is adequate for the more average and younger ninth and tenth grade student is likely a lacking and frustrating experience. But even if it is not, the first year at college will surely show the student the lack of preparation provided by the secondary school, both academically and in his ability to cope with the urban and university social setting.

Ignoring curriculum for the moment, consider the positive aspects of each educational environment in the context of timing or sequence over a four-year secondary experience. Broadly it would look like this:

Yr	Aver. Stud. Age	Locale of School	Locale of Educational Experience	Type of Focus of Curriculum
1	14-15	Home Community	School, Community, Field	Interdisciplinary, Environmental, Emphasis on Communication
2	15-16	Home Community	School Community, Field	Same, but emphasis on Math/Natural Science/Social Science
3	16-17	Regional/ Boarding for Some	Rural Growth Community	Career/Academic & Pre-Urban
		Urban Boarding Home for Some	Urban Center	Academic/Lab Sciences/ Urban Societal/ College Preparatory
		Home Community for Some		Same as level '2'
4	17-18	Same as Third Year	Same as Third Year	Same as Third Year. (Add students to urban who may be college-bound after pre-urban transition in Regional environments.)

This implies the need for development of a typology of secondary students. The one suggested below should, as any other, be considered in its most broad or general terms, and not necessarily descriptive of any particular individuals:

I. **Mature, Motivated, Academically Capable, High Aspirations**
For these young people the experience and resources afforded by the larger urban schools and moving into the larger society could probably begin at the third-year level, following either two years in a small school or one-year small school, one-year regional (student/parent option.)

II. **The Average Person in Academic Capability, Maturity, and Motivation**
Within this board category can be found two general types of persons, depending on the social and cultural situation in which they have lived. The potential of each young person must be actively and objectively examined, and care must be given to assure that cultural bias is not a factor in distinguishing.

a. The persons from the 'deep' rural areas, the small villages; limited prior exposure to even larger rural communities. A Native language is the first language and is predominantly spoken at home. The third year could be spent at a regional or area boarding school for most; some might remain in home community until fourth year.

b. The persons from larger rural villages; may have spent time in urban or regional growth center; English has been predominant, or only, language. Some could go to urban center (parent/student option) and others to regional center. For the latter, this year could be for transition to urban school or in career education emphasis program.

III. **Less Than Average Academic Performance, Ambivalent About Life Goals, Apparent Lack of Motivation**
For these young people, the reasons for below-average performance or ambition must be determined. The problems may be born of historically unreconciled cultural differences between the individuals, community, teachers, and school. They might best be served through continuation of environmental education focus in the home community by teaching staff sensitive to the problem and able to convey the worth in pursuing a more indigenous life style. The fourth year in a regional high school may be considered, especially in a career or vocational education program.

Combining general student type with educational environment might result in a sequence such as this:

STUDENT TYPE	SECONDARY LEVEL			
	1	2	3	4
I	Home Community (Environmental Curriculum)	same	Urban (College Prep)	Urban (College Prep)
			Regional (College Prep)	
II	Home Community (Environmental Curriculum)	same	Regional (College Prep) (Urban Prep) (Career)	Urban (College Prep) (Urban Prep)
				Regional (Career)
III	Home Community (Environmental Curriculum)	same	Home Community (Regional Prep) (Environmental)	Regional (Career/Voc.)
				Home Community

Prevailing throughout the curricula at all the educational environments should be the focus on preparing young people to pursue their lives in whatever social or cultural milieu they may wish. The degree of emphasis will vary and will be implicit in the curriculum in each of the different settings. In the urban setting, the emphasis would be more toward functioning in the postsecondary institutions and, ultimately, within the dominant society rather than toward functioning in the village. Yet the students should be able to return and assume leadership positions in villages, regional centers, and Native Corporations in the fields of business management, political science, law, medicine, education, resource development, and others, as well as to do so within the larger society. The regional high schools would provide for a sorting-out process, a transitional experience, and career or vocational emphasis to enable students to take up positions ranging, for example, from village to regional to urban entrepeneurship.

The home community secondary school as envisioned here is probably the greatest departure from conventional concepts of educational systems. However, there is **nothing** that substantiates the idea that the institutions of one society have usefullness in another. And that idea is even more unsupportable if the institutions are created, peopled, and run almost exclusively by and for the dominant society. The relative failure of the educational institutions in general, and public schools specifically, to meet the needs of the rural Native Alaskans (as well as other minorities and low-income persons

throughout the nation) illustrates the point. Yet proposed solutions on the horizon appear to be: an expansion of the institutions and their edifices and traditional program and the shift of their control to representatives of the local populace. The latter is a critical moral and political necessity. However, as pertains to the cultural minorities, the institutions remain operated by the dominant society, owned by the dominant society, and represent the ideals and perspectives of the dominant society which created them in the first place. When, and only when, the institution becomes a functional part of (not merely involves or serves) the community, does it become of real use to that community and its citizens. Given this thesis, let us examine the secondary school as an institution of the small community.

A potential system for sequencing rural secondary students through a four-year educational program which utilizes existing and reasonably attainable, resources and facilities has been outlined. **As traditionally understood**, small high schools would have to have several specific characteristics in order to provide adequate and equal educational opportunity for the rural youth:

1. An edifice containing classrooms, a gynmasium, equipped laboratories for biology, physics, chemistry (and electronics), shops.
2. A diverse teaching staff, each member having been schooled in one or two specialities in order to cover economics, government, mathematics, physics, geology, English, foreign language, art, music, speech and drama, physical education, typing. psychology, home economics, chemistry, wood and metal shop, environmental science, mechanical drawing, geography, history, and so forth.

To provide this for, and throughout, four years at the various levels of depth necessary in a school whose total student populace is less than 100, is not only unsupportable but unnecessary. The magnitude of the problem and cost is so great as viewed by school authorities, the legislature, and the federal government that only minimal services are likely to be made available. The costs of construction and staffing increase yearly, so no magic occurrence in the future will make the financial solution easier. Predictably, the matter will be addressed in a patchwork manner while generations of young people grow out of school age and while postsecondary institutions struggle with their legal roles as pertain to remedial programs of pre-postsecondary nature.

By contrast, two or three year community secondary schools, set up at the ninth and tenth (and for some cases, eleventh) grade level equivalent, don't require the formal lab facilities; these are available in the regional, and urban schools, accessible at a later time in the sequence. The same with the home economics room, physical education facilities, and even formal music rooms. The variety of disciplines or areas of study need not be available at every level; this is a matter of sequencing. Thus, the variety of teachers with their specialties doesn't have to exist on the small schools staffs; they are accessible at other places at other times, depending on the various routes that the different students take. Again, a matter of sequence.

The history, knowledge, wisdom, and language of a community and a culture are available from the elders, the parents, the hunters, and council members of the community. They have not been brought into the educational process, and they must be. Developing an understanding of the society and social structures of the community as a slice of the society as a whole, and how they relate to the larger society of region, state, nation, and world can be a rich and comprehensive educational enterprise, augmented by touching the reality of the learner's environment. The ecosystems of the lake, the tidal flats, the streams, the tundra, the snowfields and woods are the richest of all possible laboratories for the natural sciences, as are the aurora, winds, and storms and long cloudless times of darkness.

It is to the villages, forests, tundra, and gravel streams that outside scholars, bureaucrats, and advanced students come to study anthropology, geology, meteorology, history, linguistics, sociology, mythology, biology, and fisheries, forest and land management. The people are studied so that they can be taught. The efforts are also aimed toward adding to the broad body of knowledge and toward exploration for purposes of ultimate exploitation. Yet the young people who live in, and are a part of, these rich environments are placed in institutions remote from where it all is, both physically and intellectually, to pursue the education deemed traditional and right for them by those who follow the paths which their educational predecessors laid in some past epoch.

It is necessary, therefore, to create new curriculum content and processes to fit within the context of what is proposed herein. Granted, it will require the preparation of a new type of teacher and educational administrator. This implies the need for new perspectives by the postsecondary institutions. However, as noted, there are a sufficient number of such educators now who see things in this light to enable progress to begin. The curriculum developers must come together with the facilities planners. The superintendents must bring selected teachers and parents and school board members together. The universities and appropriate research institutes must identify those few representatives who can, and will, commit themselves to an examination of the issues and procedures. The parents and interested lay citizens must be involved and participating in the shaping of policy and plans.

The focus of thought and planning should not be upon the ways in which the existing systems (as school buildings, curricula, teaching staffs, administrations) of the dominant society can best be transplanted into small rural community settings. The focus should be upon questioning the efficacy of such ideas and upon finding the solutions which may lie elsewhere. The community school is too often only seen as a place which the community can more fully utilize. Rather, it must be seen that the community is the educational environment in which the school and staff provide a convenient and important setting for the orderly exploration and examination of what the total environment provides.

FOOTNOTES

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AN EVALUATOR VIEWS NORTHERN EDUCATION PROGRAMS

by

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As a program planner and evaluator working in Alaska these past three years, I think many of my opinions and concerns in viewing educational programs are the same as they would have been had I been employed elsewhere in the country. However, my brief experience in the North, with its many unique attributes, has also directed my attention toward concerns which probably would not be considered priority evaluation issues elsewhere.

This paper will first address may general perspective and opinions concerning program evaluation, followed by comments specific to the Northern situation.

What is evaluation? One of the popularly quoted evaluation definitions was that of the Phi Delta Kappa National Study Committee on Evaluation (Stufflebeam and others, 1971, p. 40):

> "Educational evaluation is a process of delineating, obtaining, and providing useful information for judging decision alternatives."

The Committee did not consider judging to be the evaluator's role. Other evaluators disagree; hence, the question of who has the judgmental role is often the key to disputes over defining evaluation. Discussions of other definitions can be found in Worthen and Sanders (1973), and Steele (1973), but further attention to this interesting debate over theory is not essential to the purpose of this paper.

Regardless of disputed definitions of evaluation, I make certain assumptions about what the term evaluation connotes. First, evaluation assumes there is a rational decision-making process in that decision-makers use information available to them to make the process a more workable one. Here I am mainly considering evaluation in terms of its usefulness to the project in which it operates, rather than an additional purpose of helping to clarify the project and its effectiveness to others, which, while important, is considered secondary.

Second, evaluation assumes some stability of program funds which would allow for planning and recycling. If this condition does not exist, evaluation data will be of limited use to the decision-makers and those

administering the project. Questions of timing and funding certainly are central problems of operating programs under federal or state funding. Past examples of legislative action exemplify that neither time nor funding have been sufficiently taken into account. This is perhaps the main reason why evaluation has not previously proven very useful, since adequate planning time was not given—much less funded. Subsequently, programs with uncertain futures often had to be revised and resubmitted before data were available. This situation has had the unfortunate consequence of giving evaluation the appearance of an act that is done for someone else to fulfill a requirement without realizing the many benefits that could have accrued to the program itself.

Therefore, my third assumption is that evaluation can have usefulness for local program improvement and should not be thought of solely as a necessary exercise to satisfy an external funding source. Federally imposed evaluation can be considered a failure if judged in terms of providing data for local program improvement. Too often this failure is equated with the lack of likelihood that any evaluation will be useful at the local program level. Historically, it is perhaps unfortunate that the impetus for most evaluation efforts came from the federal government, specifically the evaluation requirements of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act; and that the impetus continues to be tied to federal funding. Though the Office of Education and Congress can be commended for requiring programs to attempt to describe their effectiveness, they have lost their potential for leadership and example settings in this area. (Further description of evaluation developments and shortcomings at the federal level, related to ESEA 1965, can be found in Worthen and Sanders, 1973, and Hecht, 1973.)

Fourth, any evaluation must be conducted in an atmosphere which has a tolerance for program failure as well as for success. If one cannot accept the fact that some parts of a program may do better than others and some may not do well at all, then information relative to making such judgments is not useful, and collecting data becomes wasted effort. Educators, from the federal to the local level, have failed to make this point clear in educating themselves and the public to realize that innovative quasi-experimental programs are just that—they have no guarantees of being better than the current program until they are tried and proven. If evaluation is not used in this manner, it then becomes apparent that every new program will continue or be dropped on a basis other than whether it is warrented or not. (For further discussion of the need to allow quasi-experimental programs to fail as well as succeed, see an excellent discussion by Campbell, 1969.)

Fifth, communication and cooperation among administrators, implementors and evaluators are essential to adequate evaluation. Though this sounds elementary and perhaps unnecessary to mention, it is probably the most significant adversary to evaluations. Evaluators are so accustomed to the negative reactions from those who feel threatened by evaluative efforts that they often neglect to take precautions to alleviate such tensions. Everyone involved in a program needs and deserves a thorough understanding of what an evaluation is to be and how it will be used. Though some basic

researchers set up blind experiments or use deceitful conditions with subjects on a temporary basis, such tactics are not part of the repertoire of an evaluator.

All of the above assumptions are based on the fact that evaluation differentiates itself from more basic research in its usefulness to the programs in which it operates. While research strives for generalizable knowledge, applicable in every situation, evaluation strives to provide useful information for the improvement of a specific program. Programs conducted in a realistic educational setting, unlike research projects, are fluid in nature and are apt to incur unexpected pressures, directions, and changes along the way. Program evaluation therefore must be flexible, and need not adhere to a pre-set design or plan. Regardless of how technically good an evaluation may be considered, if it is not useful for program management, improvement, and other requirements of those responsible for the program, it is not considered a successful evaluation in that it has missed its primary purpose.

Given this brief look as to what is meant by evaluation generally (at least to this author), let me attempt to relate the above to evaluation of programs in the North. What are the problems, why do we have them and what can we do about them? First of all, I think many of you would agree that many of the programs with which we deal lack clear goal definitions. We perhaps may think we know intuitively what we seek to do; if there is more than one person involved in the program, each may think he or she has an intuitive knowledge of what he or she intends to do, but without goal specifications, there is no way of knowing whether there is any agreement among these intuitions or a way to explain them to others. One might argue that anything might be better than what currently exists in our schools, but such attitudes are hardly professionally responsible.

Without defined goals and objectives a program lacks not only understanding of where it is going, but also any way of knowing if it gets there. There is a quote from *Alice in Wonderland* which applies here:

> "Alice asks the Cheshire Cat, 'Would you tell me please which way I ought to go from here?'
> 'That depends a good deal on where you want to get to,' said the Cat.
> 'I don't much care where ——————' said Alice.
> 'Then it doesn't matter which way you go,' said the Cat."

Sometimes even when goals are defined, often the criteria by which to judge whether the goals are being achieved are unclear. For instance, take a program whose goal is to instill a regard for Native Heritage in Native students. What criteria will one use to see if the goal has been met? What are the specific objectives of the program? What are students expected to do as a result of being in the program? Are they expected to learn a Native craft, talk more freely with their elders, demonstrate an improved self-image or some other such change as a method of judging whether the goal has been achieved?

Another factor which is seriously lacking in the North is research; not as part of programs themselves, but as the background with which

programs are assembled. Lacking is both the published educational research that would provide answers to many of the questions that we now try to resolve by the use of new and different programs and also the willingness to consider what is available. For instance, in a Native Heritage program improving self-image is often considered a rationale or goal. However, there is some research which suggests that minority children may already have a positive self-image. (Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972; Martig and DeBlassie, 1973; Powers and others, 1971; Soares and Soares, 1969). New programs should have the benefit of the application of new research findings that indicate that they are on the right track and have a good chance of being successful. In bilingual programs, for instance, there is only a smattering of research on the effects of bilingualism and bilingual training on various types of students. The whole area of cross-cultural education is one which in many ways lacks all three of the above—goals, criteria, and basic research, especially applied to the Northern situation.

A third problem could be considered the lack of adequate evaluation methodology and techniques in general, and especially those applied to the special conditions of Northern education dealing with such programs as the ones mentioned above. Evaluation is a new and developing field, and as such there is almost as much disagreement among its members as there is agreement on the "how to's." There is little ready-made training material available that could be used in the absence of having full-time professional evaluation help. The large cities can afford research and evaluation departments and many now have them, but the type of rural school system with which we most often interact can never be expected to gear up to that extent and, therefore, will require other means. The evaluation field needs to pull together to provide evaluation techniques and training that can be used in local school districts by the districts themselves with little or only periodic outside help. Also there is definitely a shortage of people knowledgeable in special evaluation techniques, such as for bilingual programs and cross-cultural situations.

Another problem that confronts us in the North is that we sorely lack a communication and dissemination network. Though problems across Alaska, Canada, and our more far-flung neighbors in Greenland, Siberia, et cetera, have much in common and often the programs we are attempting seem very similar, currently there are few effective mechanisms to share such information.

The fifth problem is a lack of manpower trained and available to handle the evaluation program planning and improvement techniques. There are usually people who are willing to come North for a day, look around, write a report and leave. This is hardly what is meant when we talk of useful evaluation.

What can be done? We have alluded to five "lacks" above and some of the things to be suggested are fairly self-evident. The first is the need for training of people who are on the scene, who can be part of programs and provide the necessary evaluation support. Training must include evaluation in its broadest sense, the intricacies of planning, carrying out and revising the

program. Obviously, this requires both funding and commitment. The communication/dissemination network spoken of above is another area for action. The type of communication/dissemination network being suggested requires a great deal of openness on the part of those people planning and innovating new programs; a willingness to share their experiences, including their failures as well as their successes. Even though each program is different and has its own particular circumstances, certainly there is also a great deal of similarity.

There is another type of openness required—an openness to take a look at more general work done outside, though always keeping in mind the questions of applicability. In the North, we have often seen work done outside as clearly being so inapplicable as not to have any use. We might be missing much of what could be very useful. Though cultures are indeed different, dealing with a variety of youth may not necessarily be. Though language patterns are different, dealing with second languages may be another area of common problems with similar solutions. Very often what has been imposed from outside, especially in Alaska, has been inapplicable or at least has not been adapted so that it was useful. But given attempts to improve education for a variety of peoples throughout the country, we should be open to exchange and use as much of this information as we can.

Also we must remember the road goes the other way. Alaska, as I see it, by its very isolation, sparse population, multi-culturalism and other unique characteristics, is a place which could provide a proving ground for many new types of programs, approaches, innovations, et cetera, which could be shared far outside its borders. So often we think in terms of taking in, but seldom it seems do Alaskans think in terms of exporting their ideals. As increasing attention is focused on the North for economic reasons, education has an opportunity to display the best of what it is doing to the rest of the education community.

We need to play upon our own resources, for evaluation and for education in general. On a per capita basis, the population in Alaska has a greater diversity of background and expertise than probably any other state—a resource which is seldom considered and tapped as we perhaps have looked at education too narrowly in the past. Also, due to its newness in terms of its statehood, the formation of regional school districts in rural areas, and recent interest in providing diversity of educational programs, Alaska could be considered ahead in that it has little past experience or tradition to overcome. There are no required curriculumns or other barriers which innovators in many other states have had to battle before the real work could begin. In Northern areas in general there seems to be a willingness to seek new solutions and a recognition that new solutions indeed are needed.

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PART II

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

It is self-evident to anyone capable of seeing beyond the confines of the little spheres within which we spin out our lives, that the day is rapidly approaching when it will no longer be viable for the minority of the world's population who don't live in villages to make every major decision affecting the lives of the majority who do. So any program of village education which intends to be forerunner of a revised world order must, as its first priority, design a delivery system premised on local decision-making.

— Bill Vaudrin

Educational concerns are not the exclusive domain of the teacher or the "educator," but are the province of anyone who has responsibility for any facet of the human experience. It should come as no surprise then, when people desire to exercise some influence over the educational processes that affect their lives. But it should also be recognized that local participation in decision-making does not automatically lead to improved programs or services, unless such participation can introduce new ideas and options and can lead to a sense of commitment and concern for the outcomes.

Educational development is an activity that extends beyond the school to nearly all agencies and organizations providing services to people in the State, including the Native corporations established under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, as indicated by Gaffney's article. Opportunities for local participation in, and responsibility for the development of educational services in Alaska has increased dramatically over the past few years, and the following articles are intended to enhance that movement.

ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL ALASKA: A HUMAN RESOURCES APPROACH

by

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(Ed. note: This selection is a revision of a paper presented to the **Society for Applied Anthropology** Conference, St. Louis, March 19, 1976.)

After years or organizing a purposeful social movement, and after years of highly astute political maneuvering within the foremost corridors of American political power, on December 18, 1971, the Aleut, Eskimo, and Indian peoples of Alaska won what is perhaps the most comprehensive and far-reaching legal settlement of aboriginal claims to land and its resources yet witnessed in the comtemporary world—the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.[1] I suggest that it is not an unwarranted statement to say that only the national independence gained by African and Asian peoples through the demise of colonial regimes goes farther toward the **potential** achievement of political, economic, and cultural self-determination by victims of imperialistic expansion.[2]

In many ways it would seem reasonable to suppose that Alaska Natives possess a strongly felt bond with their ethnic cousins in the "Lower 48" and Canada due to cultural affinity and generations of shared status as disenfrancised minority groups in North American plural society. However, the issues and conditions now confronting Alaska Natives as they move systematically to implement the Settlement Act appear much more akin to the issues and conditions confronting Third World nations since independence. While the parallel cannot be stretched too far, in broad terms this comparative perspective can be outlined as follows: first, it is recognized that certain Western-style development modes such as formal academic education, impersonalized bureaucratic structuring of administrative functions, and production/investment decision-making processes must be utilized if Native communities and their members are to meet confidently and competently the complex imperatives of larger, indeed world-wide, techno-economic systems. Second, although the use of culturally alien forms may be necessary to socio-economic institution building in the modern world, these institutions will prove truly viable and enduring only if the process of their development does not destroy essential elements of the Alaska Native cultural fabric. As, for instance, African nations want their economic development to have a distinctly "African" flavor, so also do Alaska Natives seek cultural distinctiveness in their development efforts.[3]

In short, a crucial problem requiring investigation at this point is: does there exist such a development strategy which conceptually integrates in

realistic operational terms the twin objectives of (a) building effective, contemporary economic institutions, and (b) maintaining, even enhancing, socially and psychologically significant properties of Native cultural forms? This paper makes a modest attempt to address this problem by, firstly, exploring important implications of the Settlement Act, particularly the imposition of the corporate structure as the major instrument of resource development and allocation; secondly, by suggesting how a "human resources approach" may offer a workable, more humanistic, alternative to the conventional subordination of all extra-economic concerns to the profit counting objective of corporate functioning; and thirdly, by examining the implications of education and native manpower as these relate to the total development process.

The Settlement Act: Imposed Development Imperatives

As with any historically significant legislation, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) is the product of a complex series of political negotiations worked out among special interest groups, in this case among Native leadership, the federal government, and the State of Alaska.[4] Moreover, within each of these more discernable interests there existed divergent sub-interests which were also constantly maneuvering for political leverage. It is therefore not surprising that the end result is a lengthy document containing much vague and compromising language which continues to generate politico-legal conflict in the post settlement period. Any attempt to extract "essential characteristics" for analysis will consequently run the risk of ignoring, or at least oversimplifying, a number of important issues.[5] Nevertheless, within the limited context of this paper there are two imperatives imposed by ANCSA which have direct implications for self-directed economic development—the corporate structure and the problem of time.

The key provisions of ANCSA conveyed to Alaska Natives 40 million acres of land to be selected by them from larger tracts of land withdrawn by the Secretary of the Interior from areas not previously owned by the federal government, the State, or private interests. In addition, just under 1 billion dollars is to be paid into the "Alaska Native Fund" according to a specified timeline. Responsibility for payment into the "Fund" is almost equally divided between the federal government and the State, with the latter obtaining its revenue for payment from a 2% royalty levied on exploitable mineral resources found on federal and State lands in Alaska. In return, of course, Alaska Natives give up legal right to any further pursuit of aboriginal land claims.

To implement the Settlement Act—that is, to receive and distribute both the money and the land among legally entitled claimants—provision was made for the establishment of 12 Native regional profit-making corporations. The geographical boundaries of these corporations approximate those of pre-ANCSA Native associations originally organized to serve politically areas populated by peoples sharing similar cultural styles and language. Within an area served by a regional corporation, there exist a number of Native villages which also have had to incorporate as profit or non-profit corporations. The village corporations, on the advise and consent of the parent regional cor-

porations, select 22 million of the allotted 40 million acres to which they are granted surface rights while the regional corporations retain sub-surface rights. During the five years following enactment, regional corporations must distribute no less than 10 percent of all funds to shareholders as dividends and no less than 45 percent of all funds to village corporations in the respective regions, with the amount increasing to 50 percent thereafter.

As with any business corporation, both regional and village corporations are governed by State regulatory laws of incorporation and operation which control the issuance of stock, payment of dividends, financial accountability, the rights and privileges of stockholders, and procedures for the election of members to the board of directors. Regional corporations may engage in all production/investment profit-making activities usually associated with corporate functioning; however, only upon approval of plans by the parent regional corporation can a village corporation receive "Fund" monies to engage in such activities.

On the other hand, Native corporations are obviously unlike other corporate enterprises by having received initial capital and land ownership through federal legislation. But they are different in one other very important respect—stock cannot be voluntarily purchased nor alienated. Upon enrollment in a Native corporation, the member stockholder receives 100 shares of common stock, the rights to which cannot be sold or transferred, except through inheritance to another Native, until **20 years after the enactment date.** During this 20 year period only Natives have voting rights except in the case of a non-Native custodian of a stockholder who is a minor.

The two critical development imperatives imposed upon Alaska Natives by ANCSA may be summarized at this point. First, Native corporations have just 20 years to pursue "Native" socio-economic development without fear of take-over attempts by powerful non-Native economic interests. Since Native regional corporations are already the largest land owners in Alaska outside of the State and the Federal government and possess the capital to exploit lucrative investment opportunities throughout the financial world, it would be indeed naive to think that outside economic interests will not be anxiously sitting on the sidelines waiting for the 20-year non-alienation provision of the Act to run its full course.[6] This timeline condition cannot help but lend an extraordinary sense of urgency to building not only economic structures which prove currently viable, but which will also, in the longer run, become socially and culturally "institutionalized" to the extent that these outside economic forces will have considerable difficulty penetrating the membership for purposes of gaining controlling interest.

Second, the corporate structure as the major vehicle for implementing Native regional development is a given; it is, by law, an imposed organizational imperative that cannot be structurally changed. While it may be a very effective instrument for accumulating capital and managing income-maximizing production/investment activities, it is, almost by definition, antithetical to formulating in operational terms a development strategy capable of giving equal consideration to those extra-economic "human" variables so intimately related to socio-economic change processes. It can

oftentimes be observed that Native decision-makers at both the regional and village level express grave concern about involving their communities in economic projects having obvious profit potential in conventional corporate terms because of the disruptive social and psychological conditions such projects are likely to generate. This hesitation strongly suggests that the ultimate question being struggled with is, what kind of society do we want in 20 years? as opposed to simply, how large will be the bottom-line figure of our corporate accounting ledger in 20 years? Obviously the "bottom-line" is important and will continue to be important since a solid capital base and management structure are requisite to successful corporate performance. But what of the other, larger question? It is in the addressing of this question that the search begins for an alternative development strategy which does not allow the all-consuming profit motive of the corporate system to inhibit broader, more "quality of life" oriented institution building efforts.

The Human Resources Approach: An Alternative Development Strategy

Early in this paper I noted that, despite imposed legal imperatives, the problematic issues challenging Native Alaskan self-directed economic development parallel issues challenging Third World decision-makers. The generic issue from which most other issues seem to spring is contained in the conceptual debate over allocating scarce resources for "economic growth" or for "economic development." Following Robinson's distinction, "economic growth" is defined as "increases in aggregate product, either total or per capita, without reference to changes in the structure of the economy or in the social and cultural value systems," whereas "economic development" is defined as "including not only growth but also social and cultural changes which occur in the development process."[7] What brought about this debate was the rapid realization that after more than a decade of energetic attempts at "economic growth," essentially two phenomena are taking place: (a) Third World nations are falling farther behind the industrialized nations in such aggregate product categories as GNP and per capita income, and (b) the placing of top priority labels on those capital formation activities generally advocated by "growth" oriented theories (i.e., emphasis on industrialization and associated urban-based service centers and labor force) are resulting in even greater structural inequities between the minute percentage of the population benefiting from this economic orientation and the massive percentage of the population who are not.[8] Succinctly put, the central query this evidence raises is, what is so especially significant and absolute about aggregate statistical measures as yardsticks for planning and evaluating economic "progress"? The answer being given by a number of contemporary students of Third World development is: not much, unless one is satisfied with trading off the possible emergence of an equitable socio-economic opportunity structure through a balanced, more stable—albeit slower—development process for industrial growth which is usually accompanied by uncontrolled urbanization, domination by foreign owned enterprises, and the evolution of a two-dimensional class system.

In forging the parallel with native regional development, it becomes readily apparent that as business corporations determine their

"economic growth" by counting assets, nations determine their "economic growth" by continually measuring gross production and per capita income. In both cases, the paramount objective is "income maximization," but **not** economic development as defined above. Going one step further, the concept of "economic development" can be operationalized by suggesting that at its heart is the working principle of "human resources maximization" not income maximization. Even the industrial nations are beginning to show signs of recognizing that an inherent problem with these conventional definitions and measures of so-called economic progress is that human resources and the socio-physical environment in which they are nourished become secondary concerns, and perhaps this strategy does not make much sense since, ultimately, nations, regions, communities, et cetera, are social units comprised of human beings.

Indeed, through its development of a techno-scientific ethos and method, Euro-American culture may be characterized as having done very well in harnessing the physical environment for purposes of material power and convenience. In the process, however, the price paid has been high as witnessed by increasing problems of social alienation in mass society and abuse of non-renewable natural resources. When Alaska Native spokesmen say, "please try to fathom our great desire to survive in a way different from yours," the message is clear that, for them, the price tag on "economic growth" is intolerable.[9]

The scholar who has done the most work in conceptualizing the human resource approach to economic development and specifying the policy considerations embodied therein is Frederick Harbison. In his **Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations,** he sets forth the following thesis:[10]

> Human resources—not capital, nor income, nor material resources—constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, political, and economic organizations, and carry forward . . . development.

Further, he defines "human resources" as the "energies, skills, talent, and knowledge of people which are, or which can or should be, applied to the production of goods or the rendering of useful services."[11] He strongly suggests that, along with the aggregate economic measures of increasing wealth, equally important "human" indices of development progress are those which account for educational, nutritional, and health care development. In ranking a combination of twenty-five industrial and Third World Nations, he in fact found that the latter were doing better on the human resources indices than might be expected from just an examination of the Gross National Product index.[12] In essence, then, the broad policy goals of the human resource development strategy are: (a) the attainment of an economic opportunity structure capable of providing full, useful employment; (b) achievement of a more equitable resource allocation among the different social and geographical sectors of society; and (c) the development of all forms of productive

human potential through full utilization of non-formal as well as formal educational processes. It is important to note that nowhere in these goals does it say that the object is to build a "rich" society in the materialistic sense or to establish a welfare-based economic system; the emphasis is on productivity (whether in the subsistence sector or the monetary sector or in both) and equity.

In analyzing the challenges of Native regional development in Alaska from the human resources perspective, there emerge a number of considerations which do not fit the conventional model of corporate decision-making. To begin with, it is more fruitful to view Native corporation membership as "constituents" to be served rather than as simply stockholders whose sole interest is in the profit and loss column and subsequent size of dividends. If this discussion has meant anything so far, it is that regional development is not necessarily synonymous with corporate growth. With the exception of several corporations serving sizable Native populations in urban Alaska, the bulk of membership exists in small village communities, most of which are accessible only by air or, during ice free seasons, by boat, and which carry on a mixture of traditional subsistence living and participation in the larger cash economy. Consequently, their expectations of what "services" the corporation should provide fall strongly on the side of the human resources dimension of development. Along with their elected leaders in the formal political arena, they expect their corporation's officials to act in their behalf on a variety of issues affecting their daily lives such as federal and State wildlife management, land use planning, and public easement proposals. In the very first sentence of his annual message to stockholders, John Schaeffer, President of the Northwest Alaska Native Regional Corporation (NANA), points out that, "protecting the natural resources of our region from those who would build roads or regulate resource use to our detriment has occupied many hours of our time."[13]

Moreover, when taking the "constituency" approach, the localization vs de-localization of corporate resources becomes a significant issue. Recalling that a major objective of the human resources strategy is the attainment of full, productive employment, it follows that corporate decision-makers should favor investments which further the development of an economic occupational structure **within the region.** Although such investments may prove financially marginal for a period of time, they can, with thoughtful long-range planning, provide the foundation for a more self-sufficient economy having important social and cultural as well as economic benefits. Working from hardline investment management criteria, NANA Corporation's reindeer breeding business or the purchase by a coalition of Southwest Native Corporations of the Peter Pan Fishing Company, an enterprise dependent upon a high-risk commercial fishing operation, would probably get low marks. But from the human resource perspective the crucial point is that while these activities may never prove extraordinarily profitable, they directly speak to historic economic concerns of the constituency—concerns having both practical and symbolic cultural content.

Given the investment monies made available by ANCSA and the large

number of "blue chip" investment opportunities existing throughout the financial world, there cannot help but be a strong temptation among Native corporation leadership to exploit these opportunities beyond the capital formation needed for regional development. While the collecting of such investment portfolios may be a sound corporate growth tactic and result in larger dividends for shareholders, it can, if carried to extremes, divert concentration from developing a self-directed, constituent-oriented economic structure within the region. This de-localization of resources can have the further dysfunctional consequences of severely limiting membership participation in, hence identification with, their corporation's activities. If it reaches a point where the single link a majority of the membership has with the corporation is the receipt of dividends, these dividends will have no more significance then welfare assistance checks. And when the non-alienation clause elapses in 1991, the membership will be highly susceptible to outside interests seeking purchase of their stock.

The need to seek a balance between corporate growth and regional development is well understood by a number of Native corporation leaders. A **Fortune** magazine article observed that even with the business boom accompanying the trans-Alaska pipeline, Doyon Ltd., the Interior Athabascan regional corporation, has not been aggressive in exploiting investment opportunities. According to the article, Doyon's chairman, John Sackett, and his staff explained this lack of aggressiveness by indicating that "whatever businesses they get into must, among other things, provide jobs and middle-management training opportunities for Doyon's stockholders." It was also noted that Sackett sees Doyon as not providing "much of a return to its stockholders through conventional means" for a number of years, but that the creation of a "$10,000-a-year job for a stockholder would represent a pretty fair return for him."[14] On the other hand, Northwest Arctic Native Association has been more aggressive in developing corporate enterprises, but with deliberate concentration on regional development. They have purchased a long-standing jade mining operation, built a large modern hotel in Kotzebue, and started a construction and supply company which is already actively engaged in village construction projects.[15]

When discussing the localizing of resource allocation, there is another significant level of the issue to be addressed. This has to do with the concentration of development programs in those towns which have historically evolved to serve the various regions as commercial-transportation centers. Because they already possess to some degree the necessary factors of an economic infrastructure, a multi-skilled population base, and ready access to outside resources, "urban villages" such as Bethel, Barrow, Ft. Yukon, Nome, Kotzebue, and Dillingham are in natural positions to experience the direct as well as indirect social and economic consequences of accelerated Native development efforts. These factors make easy the argument for establishing in regional centers the major administrative agencies responsible for implementing development throughout the regions (i.e., the offices of Native corporations, of Native nonprofit associations working in the areas of health, education, and cultural affairs, and of regional school districts).

From the perspective of a "people-oriented" development strategy, however, it would prove highly counterproductive if the greatest share of the regions' economic activity and associated occupational opportunity structure also became lodged in these towns at the expense of the surrounding villages.

What must become a major objective of Native corporate strategy is an exercising of the production/investment function in a manner that systematically slows the urbanization process by promoting regionally balanced, village-focused development. As alluded to earlier, nothing is more destructive to the socio-cultural fabric of traditional, small scale societies nor more readily leads to feelings of powerlessness and normlessness among their members than to be caught in the maelstrom of growth-oriented industrial urban processes. The social pathology of alienation—i.e., powerlessness and normlessness—as manifested by increased incidences of crime, suicide, alcoholims, and estranged family relationships appears to almost universal among large segments of urbanizing populations, whether in New Delhi, in Chicago, or in Nome, Alaska. Indeed, from the human resources perspective, measuring manifestations of alienation in the planning and evaluating of economic development is as vital as the measuring of assets and liabilities.

An excellent example of village focused economic development is the recent grant received by Mauneluk Associates, a Native non-profit corporation, from the Economic Development Administration to build snowmobile repair garages in five Northwest Alaskan villages. During the winter these garages will be used to shelter and repair snowmobiles, and during the summer they will function as repair centers for outboard motors and city-owned equipment.[16] Coupled with small engine repair courses offered on-site, this kind of development effort not only expands village employment opportunities, but as repair skills and parts inventories increase, there will also occur a lessening of new snowmobile purchases, thus a lessening of the costly dependency villagers presently have on external distribution centers. And it is by no means inconceivable that in the process of developing this small scale village industry, some energetic, innovative person will produce a snowmobile design well adapted to punishing subsistence activity to replace the current models mass produced for less punishing recreational activity.

After years of intrusion by Western institutions there is perhaps nothing about contemporary Native village life which can be considered culturally pristine. Nevertheless, it is still at the village level where the potential most strongly exists for building productive socio-economic relationships which are—and, again, this is the essence of the human resources approach—equitable, self-sufficient, and culturally appropriate. What must be recognized is that these relationships can only develop and endure where there continues to reside a cultural disposition possessing, firstly, some historical sense for the fragility of man's relation to the environment and the limits to which this relationship can be exploited for material gain. And secondly, a traditional structuring of decision-making and problem solving processes on such a small scale plane that the dominant social dynamic is not the alienation of man from his society and his work; instead, through the identity and security offered by day-to-day immersion in kinship bonds, familiar com-

munication patterns, and in a subsistance lifestyle providing a worthy alternative to excessive dependence on the cash economy, what comes to pass is an integration of man with his society and work. Going back to John Sackett's observation that a $10,000 per year job should represent a fair return to a Doyon Ltd. stockholder, we might ask: would that stockholder like a choice between a $10,000 per year job within a depersonalized technocratic social order, or perhaps a $5,000 per year job in a familiar, personalized environment to complement an active subsistence lifestyle?

Finally, to maintain that regional development strategies should give precedence to the enhancement of village life is not solely based on the argument for humanized, culturally appropriate economic activity, but also on the argument that, in the long run, it is small scale social systems which may have the best chance to achieve economic survival in this world. Observing what he feels to be the fatal contradiction inherent in the relationship of today's large scale economic systems and consumption patterns to the environment they relentlessly exploit, E.F. Shumacher states an obvious but as yet unheeded proposition:[17]

> . . . that economic growth, which viewed from the point of view of economics, physics, chemistry and technology, has no discernible limit, must necessarily run into decisive bottle necks when viewed from the point of view of the environmental sciences. An attitude to life which seeks fulfillment in the single-minded pursuit of wealth—in short, materialism—does not fit into this world, because it contains within itself no limiting principle, while the environment in which it is placed is strictly limited. Already, the environment is telling us that certain stresses are excessive. As one problem is being 'solved,' ten new problems arise as a result of the first 'solution.'

Beyond Technics: Educational Implications of the Human Resources Approach

Before proceeding, I would like to capsulize the major threads of the discussion so far by suggesting that the human resources approach to economic development in rural Alaska offers, in Ali A. Mazrui's terms, a way to "decolonize the process of modernization without ending it."[18] It does this by proposing strategies for structuring the production/investment function and the accompanying occupational opportunity system from a perspective which reconciles the twin development goals of (a) achieving a capability for purposefully dealing with the larger techno-economic forces of the corporate world on an equitable, self-sufficient basis with (b) the desire to have the emerging human institutions prove compatible with cultural and environmental conditions of Native life. While the Land Claims Settlement Act provides the **potential** for achieving economic self-determination, it is argued here that **actual** self-determination (i.e., decolonization) can more fruitfully be attained through a synthesis of the two sets of needs as provided by the human resource approach to the Act's implementation. Fundamental to this synthesis is the notion that it is human resources rather

than the passive production factors of natural and capital resources which constitutes the ultimate wealth of a society. In the final analysis, the "real bottom-line" is people, for it is people who plan, organize, and carry out economic development; and it is also people who must bear all the consequences generated by the kinds of socio-economic relationships their creations inspire. With this framework in mind, I will now turn to the educational implications of the human resource approach for the recruitment and training of that manpower most obviously destined to be "prime movers" (or prime obstructors) of the development process.[19]

ANCSA, with its developmental imperatives of the corporate structure and the 20 year timeline, imposes the urgent need for a dramatic increase in the number of Native Alaskans having those qualifications usually associated with baccalaureate and graduate degree programs. The wide range of high-level manpower catagories and occupational roles these economic imperatives call for is well enumerated by others.[20] Suffice it to say here that the people who acquire these academic and technical proficiencies will occupy strategic decision-making positions affecting the course of Native social, cultural, and economic development, whether with Native regional or village profit corporations, regional or tribal non-profit associations, statewide Native organizations such as the Alaska Federation of Natives or the Alaska Native Foundation, or with the recently formed regional school districts and the Rural Educational Affairs Division of the University of Alaska.

I have elsewhere defined "strategic decision-making" positions as entailing both policy-making "heroic" roles and policy implementing administrative-technocratic roles. While a Native graduate may not become directly involved in the "processes that legitimate proposals for (regional) action," he most assuredly will be involved in the "processes that realize or frustrate the actualization of policy."[21] In either case, he will have thrust upon him decision-making responsibilities that directly play on the operation of development programs. It is one thing to formulate a comprehensive development perspective and attendant strategies, but quite another thing to have these programs reach fruition--a condition as dependent on the aggregate efforts of teachers, accountants, biologists and geologists as on the individual efforts of the corporation president, the politician, or the school superintendent.

It must be remembered, however, that as these decision-makers go about the day-to-day business of applying their acquired expertise to the "technics" of economic development (that is, highly specialized knowledge rationally and efficiently applied to highly technical problems), by the very nature of this application they will at the same time be having a continuous impact on the social and cultural institutions in their respective regions and villages.[22] Moreover, because of their proven success with the "system" of Western formal education, they will no doubt be expected to participate actively as members of boards and committees governing a proliferating number of programs generated by the self-determination movement (e.g., school boards, village and city councils, profit and non-profit corporation

boards, policy councils for field-based University programs, and advisory groups to federally funded educational programs such as JOM, Indian Education Act, et cetera). Observing formal decision-making processes in rural Alaska, one is constantly aware of the demands placed upon a small cadre of talented, energetic Native people who have felt compelled to greatly overextend their time and efforts by participating, in many cases, on three or four such policy making bodies simultaneously. Hopefully, the alleviation of Native manpower underdevelopment will also go far towards alleviating this overextension of strategic policy making responsibilities by the few.

The point is that the high-level Native manpower being trained for eventual return to their communities will not only function as principal movers of economic development, but also as principal "culturemakers"—a role synthesis paralleling the twin development goals of the human resources approach.[23] It therefore becomes essential that the process and content of their education go beyond technics to include the kinds of reflective and practical learning requisite to being successful synethesizers of these goals. The question now is, what might this requisite educational experience look like?

Drawing on the writings of the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, Norman Chance has outlined, in my estimation, the kind of educative process most likely to produce "successful synthesizers" of Native development goals. Acknowledging the "importance of cultural influences," Chance nevertheless holds that "the history of human development suggests that man desires to be more than what he is now and, furthermore, that he has the capability of transforming his existing world in a direction that he deems important."[24] Using Freire's own words, "he can undertake to change what he has already determined" by means of his "praxis." This "praxis" may be viewed as an inherent intellectual capability for combining reflective thought and action, for testing theory through practice which, for Chance, is "what true learning is all about." However, there is a point at which "knowledge gained through theory and practice" becomes antithetical to true learning. This occurs when the educational process becomes so thoroughly institutionalized that it "overdetermines" the learner, conditioning and defining "his cognitive meanings and actions—what many anthropologists refer to as culture."

As we know it, the most prominent form of this "overdetermination" is the formal educational system. Because this most important aspect of contemporary human socialization has become institutionalized as a complex bureaucratic structure which, like all bureaucracies, has a compelling tendency to be "variable reducing" since its own self perpetuation hinges on strict conformity to standardized, culture-specific behavioral norms, what Freire views as the "banking concept" of education has become its basic *modus operandi*. For him, formal education is, by and large:[25]

> . . . an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and

> repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. They do, it is true, have the opportunity to become collectors or cataloguers of the things they store. But in the last analysis, it is men themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system . . . .

Now, if one accepts that the "banking" method of education runs counter to thoughtful inquiry generally, the prevalence of its use in multi-cultural Alaska must be considered deadly. Wherever one wishes to look in the world today, formal institutions of higher education are direct imitations of the Western model. It is therefore not surprising that, despite the non-Western cultural context in which many of these institutions are found, their principal function continues to be the accumulation and transmission of presumably "superior" technics of Western civilization and the cultural value assumptions which legitimize these technics.[26] Given life-long subjection to a formal educational system, the total environmental press of which proclaims universality for the rational, scientific virtues of a growth-oriented technocratic social order, most all of us—Native and non-native alike—who have been "processed" through universities and colleges are "overdetermined" to define our reality in terms of the **how to?** dimension of our technical training to the virtual exclusion of the **for what?** dimension. And it is precisely the latter dimension which moves us to ask, to what kind of society do we really aspire? And if the society we envision is not to be a replicate of the growth-oriented model, in what ways can technics be applied so that it is indeed different?

This dimension can only be included when the banking concept is displaced by a "problem-posing" pedagogy. Through a weaving of theory and practice, Chance sees this approach as challenging students to inquire critically into the very reality they are studying, to engage in a "deconditioning process of first asking questions about (one's) conditioning and secondly questioning the conditions themselves." This approach develops as one stands back and looks at one's self in relation to the external world and asks "am I an **object** of someone else's history or life pattern? Or am I a **subject** of my own history, a self-determining person?" By "reflecting upon this dichotomy of self as object and self as subject and the external realities with which they intertwine," a deepening of "one's self-perception and social awareness can be undertaken." But as Chance also suggests, "reflection, by itself, is not enough (for) effective learning only comes about through the combined process of reflection and action—action which brings about a reaction from others, which in turn stimulates further reflection."[27] However, the education of development synthesizers requires that at some point in the learning process Freire's and Chance's emphasis on the singular ("I," "my," "one's," "self") must be complemented by an equal emphasis on the plural ("we," "our," "us"), for the conditions these synthesizers must critically address throughout their occupational careers are not just their own

realities but the realities with which members of their respective communities live generally.

The concept of "reality" and its relation to a person's life-situation and life-chances should also be clarified at this point. There are two levels of reality to be critically dealt with by students and instructors together. The first is the social, cultural and environmental conditions comprising the immediate milieu of the student and against which the testing of theory and reflection is most easily accomplished. The second and much more elusive level is that of the larger, unseen realities of political and economic forces which shape this immediate milieu. The cruel fact is that many of the realities which, in the final analysis, truly determine our lives may not be located within our life space, but rather in Anchorage, Juneau, Seattle, Dallas, or Washington, D. C. and with the imposition of the corporate structure, the determining forces for rural Alaskans may soon be even further afield in Zurich, Tokyo, and Bonn. Any problem-posing educational process must deal with both levels; yet only when a person has grasped the realities within which he or she is immersed can that person begin to make sense of the larger realities and their implications for the immediate milieu.

What must be fully understood is that by the very nature of the specific technical competencies this high-level manpower acquires and, more importantly, the process through which this acquisition is made, it becomes exceedingly difficult for them (or anybody) to maintain reasonable identification with the way rural Native "constituencies" define and deal with their realities in everyday life. However, this identity link is most likely to be maintained when the learning experience continually challenges students on the **what for?** as well as the **how to?** dimensions of their eventual roles as strategic decision-makers in the rural development process.

Within the framework of degree-oriented formal education in rural Alaska, the basic thrust of the "problem-posing" approach—critical inquiry into the very reality of our life situation by testing theory through practice and combining reflection with action—can most readily be accomplished through a field-based educational delivery system of the type described by Barnhardt in this volume. To be sure, such a system cannot ignore the formalized functions of specific degree requirements, grade point averages, and faculty qualifications; it would be foolhardy to do so since the larger development imperatives dictate that many of the technics these functions legitimize must be mastered.[28] Nevertheless, the very fact that the educational process is field-based makes it much more amenable to the problem approach than does the traditional campus-based situation. Most significantly, it does not physically disengage the learner from his own and his community's reality, that is, the reality to be examined critically. But along with continuous immersion in reality, there is the issue of **how** this reality is to be "critically examined." Given that, at least for the foreseeable future, program instructors are likely to be non-native, it is essential that every effort be made to structure the formal curriculum and tuition process in a manner that takes full advantage of the "expertise" students possess of the unique cultural and environmental conditions within which the mastered technics must be

applied. While it may be presumed that instructors are well versed in specific disciplines, it cannot be presumed that they are fully aware of the conditions under which their academic and technical dispensations will be learned and applied. Whenever possible, therefore, the banking concept of education (of which the current competency-based teacher education programs are a prime example) should be studiously avoided.

There are of course certain bodies of specific technical knowledge that can only be transmitted by direct communiques from instructor to student. But if "critical inquiry" is to be sustained throughout the educational experience, the **fundamental** principal of curriculum development must be the search for learning frameworks which avail students every opportunity to test learned theories and individual reflections against the different levels of reality with which they must continuously deal. The banking concept of education must be considered arrogant and presumptuous in a cross-cultural context. The very minimum such a context suggests is a reasonable "two-way communication flow," a condition upon which the problem posing approach is premised.[29] Ultimately, the entire ethos of any field-based degree program in rural Alaska should be premised on the two-way communication flow, from recruitment of both instructors and students to the actual delivery of the program itself (see Barnhardt, this volume).

Moreover, in keeping with the village focused strategy of the human resources approach to economic development, field-based university degree programs must also be village focused. To establish university community colleges, learning centers, et cetera, in regional urban villages is not enough, for there is an extraordinary number of talented, motivated people living in smaller villages who, for reasons of family and community obligations, cannot take extended periods of time for study away from home. And if we accept the notion that the enhancement of village life holds the key to eventual achievement of the twin development goals, and if we accept the notion that the high-level manpower best able to accomplish a synthesis of these goals will have maintained a personal link with "reality" throughout their educational experience, then we must accept the possibility that overall development "progress" may well hinge on how many of these people are provided the opportunity for a problem-posing, reality testing higher educational experience.

At the present stage of economic and educational development in rural Alaska, there are two spheres of technics which desperately require immediate infusion of Native professional manpower, and which readily lend themselves to the field-based problem approach. The first of these is teacher education. With the dismantling of the Alaska Unorganized Borough and BIA school systems in favor of local control through regionally elected school boards, there is greater opportunity than ever before for Native Alaskans to decolonize the schooling of their children. But as many Third World countries have experienced, cultural independence does not automatically follow from political independence. For Native education, Mr. Eben Hopson addresses the issue directly when he questions whether Native people can exercise true "political control" over the educational process without also attaining "pro-

fessional control" (see Hopson, this volume). He states:

> Today, we have control over our educational system. We must now begin to assess whether or not our school system is truly becoming an Inupiat school system, reflecting Inupiat educational philosophies, or, are we in fact only theoretically exercising "political control" over an educational system that continues to transmit white urban culture? Political control over our schools must include "professional control" as well, if our academic institutions are to become an Inupiat school system able to transmit our Inupiat tradition, values, and ideals.

It is not enough, however, that more Native teachers are produced through the same educational process that produces teachers in the United States generally. I think Mr. Hopson would agree that, while it is certainly a large step in the right direction, to be Inupiat does not necessarily guarnatee that a teacher is going to seek energetically to frame learning experiences in accordance with Inupiat values and traditions, especially if he or she is a product of the urban-based banking approach prevalent among institutions of higher education today. The power of Western higher education to co-opt the values and aspirations of non-Western peoples is succinctly stated by Masrui:[30]

> University graduates in Africa, precisely because they were the most deeply Westernized Africans, were the most culturally dependent. They have neither been among the major cultural revivalists nor have they shown respect for indigenous belief systems, linguistic heritage, modes of entertainment of aesthetic experience. The same educational institutions which have produced nationalists eager to end colonial rule and to establish African self-government have also perpetuated cultural colonialism.

I don't think it is overstating the case to say that the education of Native teachers is a critical ingredient to the total process of Native human resource development, for it is they who will "constitute the largest group of prime movers of innovation (and who) are the 'seed corn' from which new generations of manpower will grow."[31] There is no question but that with all the new elements entering the Native Alaskan educational scene, from the manpower requirements called for by ANCSA to the struggle for real local control and the development of small high school programs for rural villages, new ways of looking at the whys and hows of education—i.e., innovativeness—are essential.

The second sphere of technics demanding a dramatic increase in Native professional manpower and which lends itself both to a field-based educational delivery system and a problem-posing approach is business administration. Paralleling the student of education who constantly tests learned theory and method in the real world of his community and its school, so also can the student of business administration. As many of the realities of being an educator in rural Alaska are not located on urban campuses, neither

are the realities of managing regional and village enterprises during a period of intense socio-economic change. Reviewing the present requirements for a bachelors degree in business administration from the University of Alaska, with its optional areas of concentration in management, finance, marketing and tourism, there appear to be few, if any, specific technics that cannot be attained in a field setting.[32] Of course students may reasonably be required to enroll several semesters or summers on campus during their four year program to take advantage of library and other faculty resources. But the bulk of their study should consist of courses designed to allow maximum field-based application of principles and concepts through internships, practicums, research projects, et cetera. I would suggest, however, that if such a business administration degree is to address adequately the conditions of development and change in rural Alaska, two elements must be incorporated into the curriculum directly.

The first concerns the aforementioned notion of the "culture making" role inherent in the application of learned technics to the planning and managing of development efforts. This notion strongly implies that students pay attention to systematic ways of assessing the cultural, social, even psychological, impact new and expanded economic activities are likely to have on rural Alaskan communities.[33] This specifically means attention both to these extraeconomic outcomes, usually unplanned, of production/investment decisions and, equally as important, to the social conflicts generated by corporate organizational forms confounding traditional authority structures, status attributes, and role perceptions on an increasing scale. If integration rather than alienation is to predominate in a social system, then the process by which conflicts are resolved and status and roles are allocated must be acknowledged as **legitimate** by members of that social system. It is precisely this process by which the social order is legitimated that gets confounded as corporate decision-making functions intrude on rural Alaskan communities, and it is precisely this confounding effect which the rural administrator, along with fulfilling his job specifications, must be ready to mediate at every opportunity.

The second element which should be an integral part of the business administration curriculum is the conservation and management of land resources. This may be incorporated as an area of concentration similar to the present areas of management, marketing, finance, and tourism, or as a highly recommended minor field. Either way, the business administration/land resource management baccalaureate program speaks to the fact that Native corporations are essentially landholding enterprises. And as such, the data base for a disproportionate share of production/investment decisions will derive from land use planning—a technical process which presumably takes into account the ecological interaction between the surface and subsurface resources of the land and the people whose livelihood depends on these resources.

However, while the need for field-based teacher and business education may make eminent sense in terms of the argument presented here, there will continue to be a growing number of Native Alaskans who take their baccal-

aureate and graduate degrees in a variety of fields on campus. How, then, might their learning experiences be designed to minimize the co-optive power of Western higher education without detracting from the opportunities they have for mastering technics so obviously needed by rural Alaska development programs? Again, what is being asked for is an adequate melding of the **what for**? and **how to**? dimensions of technical and academic skill acquisition.

The most apparent structure for providing the **what for**? dimension to the meld at the University of Alaska is the Native Studies program. While Native students pursue degrees with majors in such areas as biology, engineering, sociology, physics, and so forth, they might also minor in Native studies. But for Native Studies to provide the appropriate **what for**? dimension, it is first of all necessary that the University make a serious commitment to the concept of Native Studies by elevating the present program to degree-awarding departmental status and underscoring this commitment with adequate funding. Once achieving departmental stature, a Native Studies program can begin to develop a curriculum built around a dynamic perspective of the Native movement toward true self-determination and new forms of cultural identity. Like the human resources approach presented here, what this perspective acknowledges is that while rural life may never be the same again, it does not necessarily follow that there has been set in motion an irrevocable linear progression toward ultimate acculturation. Indeed, finding ways of conceptualizing and doing socio-economic development **differently** would be a focal curricular concern.

Put another way, a fully enfranchised Native Studies program might take on a consciousness-raising function, not only in terms of doing development differently along lines suggested throughout this paper but also in terms of the so-called "softer" areas of language, art, and literature. Economic and educational development in rural Alaska will not reflect a distinctly "Native" flavor unless equivalent emphasis is placed on the development of Native humanities. What I have in mind here are the themes emerging out of two recent conferences entitled, "Alaska Native Arts and Literature in the Future: Dynamic Continuity or Suppressive Fundamentalism?" and "The Native Arts of Alaska: An Exploration of Indigenous Life Value Sources."[34] In both cases the conferees moved beyond the point of the obvious need for a renaissance of traditional Native cultural expression before these traditions and their human bearers become extinct. For them, it was equally important to recognize that cultural traditions are dynamic, ever changing, and what is now needed is a new generation of bearers of expressionistic culture among all Native groups. What culture this generation will make and bear is that which they themselves create out of their own consciousness. Of Tlingit traditions, one principal organizer of these conferences, Andrew Hope III of Sitka has said:[35]

> Change in and of itself is not valuable, but the ability to change and adapt can result in stronger people of vision. Where is the traditional Tlingit? Are we to mourn the fact that the Tlingit and their culture are not exactly as they were in 1520 A.D.? I think not. The only way the Tlingit could stay in the 1520 vacuum would be for them to exist only in

a lifeless, freeze-frame museum exhibit. **Holding to tradition,** when tradition can not be defined, can easily be an excuse for suppressing artistic and creative development and innovation in any people's culture. The only hold on tradition is the human mind.

Summarizing the Human Resources Approach

What this paper has attempted to convey is that, along with providing politico-legal elements for self-determination, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act has also imposed upon Native communities in rural Alaska two development imperatives—the corporate structure and the problem of time—which, together, make it extraordinarily difficult to deviate from conventional, Western-style modes for planning, managing, and evaluating "economic progress." At the same time, however, there is a growing, more strongly articulated expression of concern among Native leadership that for rural Alaska the kinds of socio-economic relationships such "progress" inexorably generates may be neither socially desirable, culturally appropriate, nor environmentally sound. The question was then raised: Does there exist an alternative strategy to corporate growth-oriented economics which adequately accounts for the imposed imperatives yet also accounts for the extra-economic "human" variables involved in institutional change processes?

Drawing from observations made of Third World nation-building efforts, it was suggested that, conceptually, the alternative may be found in the more holistic "economic development" model with its emphasis on investment decisions which result in human resource maximization as well as material resource maximization. This model is grounded in the premises that: (a) it is the energies, skills, and talents of people combined with a culturally buttressed sense of self and purpose which is the ultimate source of creative institution—building; and (b) the eventual social order envisioned is characterized by equitable and self-sufficient use of the means of production as opposed to the myopic vision of capital accumulation. Working from these premises, it was further suggested that the economic development model can be operationalized through a human resource perspective which views Native corporation enrollees as constituents to be served rather than as dividend-minded shareholders; argues for localizing resource allocation within corporate regions even though quicker, more profitable returns to investments may be located elsewhere; and cautions against concentrating economic activity in regional centers at the expense of surrounding villages where the chance for cultural continuity and economic permanence are greatest.

In keeping with the two development goals of the human resources approach, it is maintained that the education of high-level Native manpower must go beyond acquisition of technics to include the kinds of reflective and practical training requisite to becoming successful synthesizers of these goals. The key assumption here is that this educated manpower will not only function as principal planners and managers of development activities, but also as principal culture makers. By the very nature of the day-to-day application of their acquired expertise to the technics of their decision-making roles, they will simultaneously have continuous impact on the social and cultural institutions of their respective regions and villages.

In light of this dual role, it is highly questionable whether a conven-

tional campus-based university program is the most appropriate form of higher learning for prospective prime movers of rural Alaskan development. It is suggested that by the very fact of disengaging students from the realities they must critically examine in favor of an institutionalized "banking" approach to education, they will be socialized into the **how to**? dimension of technics at the expense of the **what for**? dimension. And it is precisely exploration of the latter dimension which raises serious questions about the fit between the application of learned technics and the cultural and environmental conditions within which this application will eventually take place. What is therefore needed in a cross-cultural context is a degree awarding educational process which does not separate learner from reality and which has the capability of sustaining true reality-testing dialogue between instructor and student. It is argued that a field-based problem approach most readily accommodates this process, particularly in teacher education and business administration—two areas currently needing an immediate infusion of confident and innovative professional Native Manpower.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Public Law 92-203, enacted December 18, 1971. As of yet, there is no comprehensive description or analysis of the "social movement" among Alaska Natives which eventually culminated in the politico-legal fact of the Settlement Act. However, some insight can be had through several works. See H.G. Gallagher, *Etok: A Story of Eskimo Power*. New York, N.Y.: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974; and Robert Arnold, *Alaska Native Land Claims* (especially chapter four). Anchorage, Alaska: Alaska Native Foundation. 1976.
2. As Martin Carnoy notes, "like 'development,' 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' are charged terms, with different meanings for different people. Perhaps the most stereotyped is imperialism. It is clearly pejorative full of political implications and ideological assumptions." Within the context of the arguments presented in this paper, imperialism denotes a process by which any indigenous people are contacted by other people possessing superior military technology and, either violently or non-violently, the "contact" results in the establishment of a colonial structure through which the former are politically, economically, and culturally dominated by the latter. The term colonialism usually conjures in one's mind association between nation-states. But I hold with Carnoy that the concept of colonialism has broader application in that it refers to a structure of "relationships among people rather than nations . . . . Since human relations usually occur within the context of institutions (created and managed by people), these relations are shaped and mediated through institutional structures . . . 'colonial' institutions have clearly defined hierarchies: the institution defines each person's role in an authoritarian structure and there is a great disparity between the control that various individuals have over its structure and operation." See Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York, N. Y.: David McKay Company, 1974, pp. 25-27. It is precisely the structuring of "control" in the relationship of Alaska Natives to the larger techno-economic system and the cultural values which legitimate this system that leads me to emphasize the "potential" rather than "actual" implications of the Settlement Act for true self-determination.

3. See *Does One Way of Life Have to Die so Another Can Live?* Art Davidson, ed. Bethel, Alaska: Yupiktat Bista, 1975.
4. Among these special interest groups was, of course, the petroleum industry. See M. Beery, *The Alaska Pipeline: The Politics of Oil and Native Land Claims.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1975.
5. The most comprehensive description of the organization and intent of ANCSA can be found in Arnold, op. cit. A "businessman's" point of view on ANCSA and its implications is detailed by Phil Holdsworth in a three-part essay, *Native Claims,* found in the March, April, and May issues of *Alaska Construction and Oil Report,* 1972.
6. The congressional intent of the 20 year timeline was to avoid "establishing any permanent racially defined institutions, rights, privileges, or obligations . . . ." See Arnold, op. cit., p. 146.
7. Sherman Robinson, "Theories of Economic Growth and Development: Methodology and Content," in *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 21: Oct., 1972.
8. See I. Adelman and C. Morris, *Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries.* Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1973.
9. *Does One Way of Life Have to Die So Another Can Live?,* op. cit., p. 4.
10. Frederick Harbison, *Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations.* New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 3.
11. Harbison, Ibid, p. 3.
12. Harbison, Ibid.
13. NANA Regional Corporation Inc., Second Annual Report, 1974.
14. Peter Schuyten, "A Novel Corporation Takes Charge in Alaska's Wilderness," *Fortune,* October, 1975.
15. NANA Second Annual Report, op. cit.
16. See *Tundra Times,* June 30, 1976, p. 8.
17. E.F. Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful.* New York, N.Y.: Harper Row, 1973, p. 27.
18. See Ali A. Mazrui, "The African University as a Multinational Corporation: Problems of Penetration and Dependency," in *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 45, May, 1975.
19. See Frederick Harbison, "The Prime Movers of Innovation," in C. A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman, eds., *Education and Economic Development.* Chicago, Ill.: Aldine Co. 1965.
20. See Judy Kleinfeld, *et al., Land Claims and Native Manpower,* ANF/ISEGR, University of Alaska, 1973. Also see *Higher and Adult Education Needs in Rural Alaska,* a Report by the Alaska Native Foundation to the Policy Council of the Alaska Native Human Resource Development Program, December, 1974.
21. D. Marvick, "African University Students: A Presumptive Elite," in J. S. Coleman, ed., *Education and Political Development.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965, pp. 463-497. Also see, M.J. Gaffney, "Decision-Making Potential Among University Students in Kenya: Toward a Social Psychology of High-Level Manpower Development." Paper presented to the *Comparative and International Education Society,* San Francisco, March 27, 1975.
22. The term "technics" is taken from the works of Lewis Mumford. Especially see his, *The Myth of the Machine: Technics and Human Development.* New York, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966. "Technics" refers to both the techniques (method or style of knowledge application) as well as to the actual body of specialized knowledge and the world view upon which its application is rationalized.
23. See Norman Chance, "Modernization and Educational Reform in Native Alaska," in J. J. Poggie, Jr. and R. N. Lynch, eds., *Rethinking Modernization.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974, p. 342.
24. Chance, Ibid. pp. 339-341.
25. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York, N.Y.: Herder and Herder, 1971, p. 58. Also see Barnhardt's article in this volume on "Administrative Influences . . ." for a distinction between "variable reducing" and "variable generating" administration.
26. See Mazrui, op. cit. and Carnoy, op. cit.
27. Chance, op. cit., p. 340.
28. When one thinks of human resource development, one would, I suspect, almost automatically think of education, particularly that type of education which has been formally institutionalized as a "schooling process" in the Western tradition. However,

from the point of view of the discussion here, this type of education and human resource development are **not** synonymous concepts. What the human resources approach argues for is priority on investment in human capital, and as W.A. Lewis observes:

> Investment in humans is not to be equated with education as normally conceived in institutional terms. The human capacity is improved by education, public health research, invention, institutional change and better organization of human affairs, whether in business or in private or public life.

What this distinction calls attention to is the fact that human resource development is far too important to be left solely in the hands of formal schooling. However, there are certain bodies of technical/academic knowledge and skills which can most appropriately be mastered through a formal degree awarding program. What must be sorted out by managers of human resource development is: what needed skills can best be achieved through formal credit awarding programs, and what skills can best be achieved through non-formal educational efforts in which the accumulation of academic credit may be quite secondary to the immediate needs of people desiring these skills. See W.A. Lewis, "Education and Economic Development" in *Social and Economic Studies,* Vol. 10, 1961, pp. 94-101. For an examination of the variety of uses to which nonformal education can be put, see R.G. Paulston and Gregory Leroy, "Strategies for Nonformal Education," in *Teachers College Record,* Vol. 76, May, 1975.

29. See Bill Vaudrin, "Native/Non-Native Communication: Creating a Two-Way Flow," in J. Orvik and R. Barnhardt, *Cultural Influences in Alaskan Native Education,* CNER, University of Alaska, 1974.
30. Mazrui, op. cit., p. 194.
31. Harbison, "Prime Movers of Innovation," op. cit., pp. 229-230.
32. See University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1975-76 catalog, p. 74.
33. See "Subsistence and Cultural Planning" in *Does One Way of Life Have to Die so Another Can live?* op. cit., pp. 76-80.
34. "Alaska Native Arts and Literature . . ." convened in Sitka, Dec. 3-5, 1975, and was sponsored by the Sitka Alaska Native Brotherhood, Camp No. 1, and Sheldon Jackson College. "The Native Arts of Alaska . . ." conference convened in Anchorage, August 16-20, 1976, and was sponsored by the Alaska State Council on the Arts and the Alaska Humanities Forum.
35. Andrew Hope III, "Tradition in Tlingit Art and Literature: Suppression or Semantics?" Unpublished paper, Native Studies Program, Sheldon Jackson College, 1975.

COMMUNICATING AND INTEGRATING LOCALLY ACCEPTABLE CHANGE IN ALASKAN VILLAGES

by

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The right of men to participate in those institutions which affect their lives is a legal reality in Alaskan education. This is especially true now with legislation that enables rural regions of the vast state to control their local schools. Unfortunately the aisle separating legislative intent from the reality of rural Alaskan villages is a wide one. The reasons for this separation are numerous, including life styles, environments and cultural differences. There are, in addition, other factors which impede legislative intent and sow confusion on new roles for Alaskan natives in their educational institutions. People are naturally hesitant about any radical innovation which will affect their lives. Hence, change needs to be seen in a non-disruptive manner, a manner which represents the change as an extension of the target group's past affairs rather than an abrupt sprint in a new direction. One cannot expect enthusiastic attitudes to suddenly blossom among villagers who have traditionally been on the outside of change looking in.

Programs or change projects, whether they are water systems or school boards "need to be interpreted in terms of the particular population involved and of the problem it faces," (Biddle and Biddle, 1965, p. 31). One author attributes the foundering of many of these change programs to the fact that "They have been based on the needs of groups as perceived **not by them** but by persons in the dominant society," (Niemi, 1973, p. 6).

The difficulty here is that many of these problems are defined by groups other than the target group. In the past in Alaska, decisions affecting curriculum, teacher hiring and educational policy have traditionally been made outside the village. Alaskan native residents have for years had minimal control over the forces affecting their lives. Decisions made at the local level dealt with insignificant items that outside groups had little interest in, such as which days the local school would celebrate holidays.

Rural Alaskan native advisory school boards have never had any actual legal basis in the past. Villagers were accustomed to local advisory school boards being somewhat powerless, depending on what type of teacher resided in the teacherage. Often, superintendents visiting a village would not even meet with the school board.

Bureaucracies develop routines, systems and channels through which they dispense information and strive toward their tabulated objectives. Problems arise when a bureaucracy attempts to deal in another cultural milieu, such as an Alaskan village; an atmosphere in which its organizational apparatus is not sensitive. One cannot expect a once powerless group to suddenly take the reins of control because of a directive from the central office of a bureaucratic organization. A redistribution of power from a central urban office to a rural region which uses informal organizational networks cannot be achieved through policy recommendations emmanating from this office. The informational networks of village culture must be

included in any systematic relocation of the power process, and a shift in political power is precisely what is occuring in rural Alaskan education.

Alaskan natives are now entering an episode in their history in which they are assuming responsibility for their economic and educational future. This has been brought about through the implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and state legislation concerning regional control of education. Control of formal education is a new role; transference phases in a culturally diverse group such as Alaskan Natives cannot be expected to occur with uniformity. The purpose of this paper is to examine approaches to this transference phase as it relates to communicating and integrating acceptable change in Alaskan villages.

Acceptable local change is that change which has evolved through the work of fathers, mothers, grandparents, brothers and sisters of native children. The probability of the emergence of acceptable change when parents and elders are involved within their community is far greater than when change is introduced from outside of the community. Communities must be free to identify problem areas, arrange priorities, and express ideas and concerns regarding needs. This implies that the community cannot be engaged solely as a client and advisor to programs, but rather as a decision maker (Fantini, 1970). I feel that in order for meaningful and locally acceptable change to occur in Alaskan native villages, the problems must **not** be defined by professionals, but rather by the community and within the cognitive framework of the community. Change, if it is to be accepted must be integrated with the cultural system itself.

Let us look at one method of inducing change in the educational realm at the village level through the Advisory School Board. Advisory school boards legally and in practice have minimum authority. However, as has been mentioned, this is rapidly changing due to the creation of legal regional school boards. In the example village, with the fictional name of Barren Bay, the Advisory School Board members themselves were also active in the village council. They were respected figures in the community with extended kinship ties through the village. They were all members of the informal informational network, which in bush communities is more persuasive than the formal school board entity itself. A characteristic I observed in dealing with different rural native school boards is, that although there may be differences of opinion expressed at meetings, formal decisions are usually unanimous. This is probably influenced by such factors as kinship, informal informational networks and the necessity in villages to work together and resolve differences.

A community problem-solving facilitator is one who attempts to work with community members in helping to organize and focus attention on locally defined problems. Any community problem solving facilitator entering a community such as Barren Bay should be aware of the informal informational networks. Dealings with formal village organizational structures such as the village council and the advisory school board need not be extensive. Informally, however, involvement with members of these groups should be extensive. A community problem solving facilitator who deals extensively with only formal structural entities could very well impede his purpose in some communities. Advisory school boards are not formal structural entities in all native bush communities. Informal networks peculiar to bush communities need to be taken into account in the authorization and develop-

mental phases of change programs. Within the informal social interaction and communication networks in bush communities there exists a protocol for dispensing and receiving information. Entering a home and discussing business immediately is not the way the informal organizational structure operates. Business cannot be rushed. If an occasion doesn't arrive for business discussion on the first visit there will always be other visits. Violations of these informal networks alienate one from the community and decrease the effectiveness of the facilitator. Adaptation to and maximizing the use of the informal organizational mechanisms within the community requires patience and familiarity with life styles. More informational substance can emerge over a pot of caribou than in a school gymnasium amidst professionals. For those interested in further details on native and non-native communication, see Vaudrin (1973).

My entry into the village of Barren Bay was established by invitation, from the village primarily, and then from the structures which at that time were controlling education in the village.

Correspondence was maintained one year prior to implementation of the change program with the bureaucratic organization responsible for education in the community. The correspondence consisted of a mutual exchange of ideas concerning the community control of education in rural Alaska. Current legislative proposals, memos pertinent to community control and cultural-educational objectives were items included within the communication. The exchange furnished me with current materials in the proposed area of concern and provided guidelines within the educational philosophies of the State-Operated School System and the Alaska Federation of Natives.

Communication was officially established with Barren Bay's school board three months prior to the first visit to the village. Informal communication with power figures in the community had been going on for a few years. The formal communication consisted of a letter and a brief explanation of the proposal, asking whether the community would be interested in a change program. The letter was followed up by a personal meeting in Anchorage with the recently resigned school board chairman. The ex-chairman, who was currently president of the village council, assured the facilitator that the advisory school board was interested. A copy of the program was presented to the council president and an invitation was extended to the community problem solving facilitator. Arrangements were made for the facilitator's accommodations and a date was set for the first visit.

Upon arrival in Barren Bay, the facilitator met immediately with the advisory school board chairman. In an informal setting in the chairman's home, the program was explained and the chairman suggested a school board meeting be called the following day. The school board meeting would allow for a formal presentation and a decision on the board's involvement. It is strongly suspected that a decision had already been made through the informal decision making network of the village.

After the consultation with the advisory school board chairman, the facilitator met with the principal teacher. The program was explained to the principal teacher with a request for suggestions.

Prior to the school board meeting, an informal meeting was held with the president of the village council. The president, who was also the former advisory school board chairman, expressed confidence in the new chairman

and offered to support the proposed community involvement in any way he could.

The first advisory school board meeting was held as is customary in the teacher's quarters with the teacher present. The facilitator requested to be absent for a period of time so that discussions and decisions could occur without the pressure of an outsider present. The request for a segregated caucus was denied. The board felt that there was no need for a segregated caucus and that a decision could be reached without being pressured by an outsider. The board accepted the proposal to begin examining and determining their own educational needs and to begin devising strategies to meet those needs.

In my opinion, the professional educator's commitment to formal learning experiences can limit his recognition of alternative types of experiences. The educator is accustomed to operating within his own culture-bound concepts of what is acceptable educational programming. Culture-boundness can act as a deterrent to the discovery of unique educational opportunities (Wolcott, 1967), which I firmly believe can best evolve from within the community itself.

In communicating and integrating locally acceptable educational change in cross-cultural situations, the objectivity of the facilitator is obviated by his traditional cultural background. The following excerpt from the report by the Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education most succinctly illustrates the necessity for meaningful community involvement:

> The Native community must have the opportunity to determine the type of education which their children are to receive. Decisions which will result in drastic upheavals in the lives of culturally diverse children should not be made solely by educators, psychologists, or anthropologists, regardless of their noble intentions and motives. Involvement by members of the Native community must not be at a superficial level nor serve as a device simply to better acquaint parents with the previously determined aims and objectives established by the schools. Rather, major educational directions must be determined by community members themselves—drawing, of course, upon the specialized knowledge of experts in relevant disciplines (Ray, 1969, p. 73).

It was an awareness of the above report that the community problem solving facilitator entered into Barren Bay.

Obviously, a community problem solving facilitator needs to know the community in which he will be working. This requires that he communicate with the residents. Communication is more than just verbalization. Communication is the sharing of experiences which develops shared frames of reference. The situation is much more difficult when working with clients whose culture is entirely different from that of the facilitator, as Goodenough points out (1967). Language and culture form barriers which the community facilitator needs to overcome if he's to increase his probability of successful focusing on the problem within the community.

I learned and used a few phrases in the local native dialect in my daily activities. Another factor which assisted me was the use of the village's English dialect. This speech form indicates to villagers that the outsider has shared certain village values. This speech form, as Schafer (1976) elaborates,

is recognizable throughout village Alaska. The form does not indicate residence in a particular village, but rather as having lived in villages for lengthy periods. The use of the dialect conveys a wide range of shared activities that would be denied outsiders. As Schafer observed, "the use of village dialect contains overt signals with attributes which allowed for interaction in value spheres that would otherwise have been denied" (Schafer, 1976, p. 11).

In the village of Barren Bay I became effective by becoming a vital part of the process of change and influencing the situation. My role became one of seeking a balance between my own initiative and that of the local participants. This balance would, as Biddle and Biddle (1965) indicate, allow for maximum encouragement of local initiative towards the attainment of identified goals.

In Barren Bay my community involvement evolved in numerous ways. These included attendance at church functions, birthday parties, innumerable teas and coffees, steam baths, movies, cesspool digging, supply unloading, rambling discussions on the beach, and village meetings. These contacts with community members provided an opportunity for warm and personal relationships to develop. Foster's observation in this regard is that "people, however well qualified technically, usually are much less successful in developmental work than are those who can establish friendships marked by mutual respect with the people who are receiving the aid" (Foster, 1969, p. 116).

I feel that a community problem solving facilitator can increase his affectiveness by attempting physically and emotionally to adapt to the village. Physical adaptation to a different culture is a relatively easy accomplishment. By living in similar housing and eating the same foods, the facilitator can physically adapt. He can hunt, travel, and build with his clients. These activities, although not part of the facilitator's normal cultural activities, can be learned. The learning and participation in these experiences involves the facilitator with the community and establishes some shared frames of reference with his clients.

Emotional adaptation requires extensive and lengthy involvement within the culture. Emotional adaptation leads to the ability to perceive events in the manner that they are perceived by the studied culture. Words and actions convey different meanings to those who share the emotional climate of the culture under study than those who do not.

For example, the Baffin Island Eskimo word "ionamat" is used frequently to convey any degree of physical or emotional pain. It is translated to roughly "it can't be helped" and is said when one accidentally cuts one's finger or on similar occasions. The expression is also used in referring to the death of a loved one. To the individual who is not emotionally adapted to the Baffin Island culture, it would seem inhuman to be so unfeeling and casual about a loved one's death; however, the word "ionamat" conveys deep meaning. The word reflects a philosophical state of mind based on the conditioning of the culture. This philosophical position may not be in keeping with the emotional framework on an outside facilitator and may lead to faulty conclusions on his interpretation.

Physical and emotional adaptation are essential ingredients when assisting groups that have an entirely different background from the community problem solving facilitator. Even when the language spoken is the

same, the meanings attached to various phrases and behavior are often different and incomprehensible to the outsider. Physical and emotional adaptation open the facilitator to communication techniques and meanings employed within the target group.

Physical and emotional adaptation lead to the development of mutual understandings. Without mutual understandings or shared frames of reference, the depth of insight established by the facilitator can only be minimal. Even when the community problem solving facilitator develops shared frames of reference, he is a vast distance from a true insider's view when he has not been raised among the people he is working with. The childhood games, the relationships with village adults and the "feel" of the environment are beyond reach, and the absence of an insider's view creates gaps of profound significance.

This whole question of communicating and integrating acceptable change becomes markedly different when the facilitator is a member of the target group. In these situations the approaches used by the indigenous facilitators often differ sharply from the approaches of the outside facilitators. Much can be learned in assisting the change process in native communities by observing how resident native community problem solving facilitators use informal information networks.

The following incident will illustrate some of the differences between approaches of facilitators who reside in a community and those who do not by looking at a group of eight university students participating in a village study program. Two of the eight students were native residents of the village. As the study progressed it became apparent that the community had a number of alternatives for their local schools. It was decided by the group to present these options to the community so that they could be fully aware of the range of alternatives. A chart illustrating various courses of action and implications of those actions was prepared for the community along with an outline. The two native residents in the study group had wholeheartedly participated in the collection and analysis of the various alternatives. However, there came an abrupt break which upset some of the non-native group members when the two native students decided that they would like to communicate the educational alternatives to the village and that they had no intention of using the prepared materials. Obviously the two native students were the most suited for the dissemination of the information in their community; however, the problem within the student group revolved around the rejection of the carefully prepared materials. The two students explained that although the outline and table depicting the alternatives were most beneficial for them in clarifying their own thoughts on the subject, the organization of the material and the chart itself were completely out of harmony with communication patterns within their village. It was explained that things are not elaborated upon with charts and outlines at village meetings. The two native students felt that the researched educational alternatives were important and should therefore be presented to the village. The two argued that the proposed method of presentation with prepared materials at a village council meeting would impede understanding of the alternatives and lessen the likelihood of subsequent action. The two native students suggested that they could more effectively disseminate the information through traditional informal information patterns.

The latter example indicates the vast cultural chasm in methodology

that lies between those concerned individuals from outside the community who wish to assist in the change process and those who are most affected by the change. Meaningful change doesn't occur easily from sources alien to a cultural system, with the notable and deplorable exception of armed intervention. Meaningful and durable change is that which evolves from within the cultural system itself.

Alaskan natives are rapidly assuming control over their educational systems. The communication and integration of this responsibility into the varied cultural systems that exist among the natives of Alaska is an awesome task. Those involved in the transference of this responsibility need to live in villages and in close association with community members. Community problem solving facilitators should be primarily responsible to the village. Because of cultural differences, indiginous community facilitators have a greater probability of success than do those less familiar with the life styles of villagers. Change, to be effective, must become an internalized conviction of the people involved. Through the internalizing of convictions, change and the longevity of subsequent programs can be sustained without the presence of external facilitators.

Locally acceptable change can occur only when it is time for it to occur and that season is best determined by the community itself. Programs to induce change may be forceably transplanted to communities by expert horticulturists; however, the climate of the greenhouse is often innappropriate for the field. Meaningful and durable change nurtures itself from the community's own perceptions of its needs. The communicating and integrating of these changes within a community can most readily arise when the community itself sees the need to cultivate.

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ADMINISTRATIVE INFLUENCES IN ALASKAN NATIVE EDUCATION

by

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Formal education of the indigenous peoples of Alaska has been criticized, scrutinized, and analyzed continuously since schools first made their appearance on the Alaskan scene, but all this attention has had little cumulative effect on the way it has actually been operationalized. Despite numerous innovative attempts to localize the curriculum, modify teaching methods, and improve teacher selection and training techniques, schools in rural Alaska still remain largely alien and ineffectual institutions. While some of the special programs and approaches that have been developed and implemented over the years have made noticeable short-term differences, few can claim to have achieved a significant beneficial effect over an extended period of time. The generally acknowledged unacceptable achievement level of schooling in rural Alaska continues to be the subject of heated debate, massive funding, and intense activity, all of which continues to result in little substantive improvement. Why does so much presumably sincere effort produce so little desired change? The purpose of this paper is to examine the implications of that question based on the Alaskan experience, and to pursue some potential answers to it, with a particular emphasis on administrative implications.

The remarks presented here are an outgrowth of six years' observation of, and interaction with, schools throughout Alaska, as a University coordinator of a field-based program for the training of Native teachers. During that six-year period, I have seen numerous special programs come and go, some to be reborn, with little apparent recognition of past failures; I have seen schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State-Operated School system and numerous local school districts, all coping with the same problems independent of one another, but with a similar lack of success; and I have seen school programs implemented by numerous administrators for widely diverse populations under highly varied conditions, with little noticeable difference in content, operational design, or effect. All of this has led me to examine the administrative styles and behavior of persons responsible for administering educational programs for people in rural Alaska, in an effort to determine the nature and extent of their influence on those programs. The impressions and analyses I present here are subjective and speculative, and thus require more systematic review before any serious attempt is made to implement alternative administrative approaches.

The Traditional Administrative Role

The prevailing role of an educational administrator in rural Alaska has been developed and established through a long tradition of the delivery of educational services from an external benefactor to an indigenous, and presumed indigent, beneficiary, the Alaskan Native. An inherent characteristic of this traditional administrative approach is a highly centralized process for

definition and control of educational programs. Administrators are cast as authoritarian figures responsible for making decisions and seeing to it that subordinates follow through on the implementation of these decisions. The persons who hold these administrative positions are trained in traditional administrative practices which are an outgrowth of business and civil service concerns for uniformity and efficiency. The typical school administrator was described as follows, in a paper by Anthony Gregorc and Eileen Johnson, titled "Trespassing in the Holy Land: Relations Between Anthropologists and Administrators."

> Most school administrators are managers of bureaucracies. Their advanced degree work at the master's and advanced certificate level is composed of courses which permit them to function well within their culturally-determined and reinforced roles. They therefore receive training in curriculum design, law, finance, personnel management, business procedures, and traditional leadership techniques. Rarely are options in the social sciences encouraged or sought. Social science data are not necessary when one focuses upon how people and strata are alike rather than how they are different. The nature of bureaucracies with respect to social arrangements encourages a likeness view by its concentration upon equal and fair treatment through rules; separation of people through specialization; and impersonalization through rank, stratified privileges, and seniority rights. Information about differences in people and pluralistic values is not needed nor appreciated when the administrator's orientation is toward likenesses.

A key function of the administrative role described here is that of reducing the variables with which the administrator must cope, so that the program operation is manageable. Thus, the administrator "encourages a likeness view" and either rejects as extraneous, or redefines in more manageable terms, those variables which interfere with or complicate established administrative procedures. This tendency on the part of administrators was also observed by Harry Wolcott, in a study in which he described the "variety-reducing" behavior of elementary school principals: "Their attention was directed at keeping things 'manageable' by drawing upon and reinforcing the existing system rather than by nurturing or even permitting the introduction of variation" (Wolcott, 1973). Such a "variable reducing" function is oftentimes necessary and is particularly adapted to operations where the end product is explicit and agreed upon, and the process for achieving the end product is understood and uniformly predictable. None of these conditions exist, however, in the field of public education in general, and efforts to achieve consensus on similar issues in the area of cross-cultural education have been especially difficult and frustrating. The effect of the traditional "variable-reducing" administrator on education in rural Alaska has been to discourage (and sometimes subvert) attempts to adapt educational programs to the needs of the local people. Program changes which have not significantly interfered with established administrative procedures or power alliances (such as a new reading program) usually have been readily accepted and offered as evidence of receptivity to change. But program changes which have introduced new complicating variables or have posed a threat to established

procedures and alliances (such as bilingual education, or the development of local school boards) have been, oftentimes, bitterly resisted without substantive counter-argument. The program changes related to curriculum, teaching methods, or teacher selection and training techniques, usually have been within-system changes and thus did not interfere with administrative relationships external to the system. But bilingual programs and school boards have introduced variables for which authority and expertise resides in the community, which implies a shift of power and control to a source external to the system.

For a person grounded in traditional administrative practices this can be a rather unnerving and threatening experience. The instinctive reaction is to seek ways to minimize the impact of the new variables. Only when he "sees the writing on the wall," will the variable-reducing type administrator adapt his position to accommodate the change, but then only to the extent that circumstances require him to do so. The community must, therefore, achieve a position of power and political influence to make its wishes felt, if it seeks changes which may affect the basic structure of the educational system, and there is no doubt that the Native people in Alaska are seeking such changes today.

The Problem

At issue then is whether or not an effort should be made to adapt the role of administrator to accommodate more directly to the educational needs of the people of rural Alaska, and if so, what kind of role should be developed? At first glance it would appear obvious that the administrative role should be adapted to meet the needs of the people, but needs are highly complex and constantly changing. If a new role is developed to address today's needs, will the same role be appropriate tomorrow? Might a prolonging of the traditional administrative role generate enough frustration amongst the people themselves to cause them to exercise control and establish their own administrative processes, thus achieving an often expressed but seldom addressed goal? Can the function of a school be adequately accomplished under any other than the traditional administrative approach? While these questions must be seriously considered, other more persuasive issues indicate that an alternative administrative approach is indeed needed in Alaska today.

The most encouraging sign on the horizon of Alaskan Native education is that the Native people are no longer content to be passive recipients of educational programs developed by benevolent educators apart from Native community involvement. The Native people are actively seeking a controlling interest in the traditional educational programs intended to serve their communities, and they are, at the same time, bolstering their interests by establishing innovative programs of their own which threaten to supplant the ineffective traditional programs. Much of the newly acquired political and economic influence of the Regional Corporations, established through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, has been directed to improving educational opportunities for the Native people. The variety of "bilingual-bicultural programs" that have sprung up around the state, and the several new institutions, such as the Tanana Chiefs Land Claims College, the Tanana Survival School, and the Inupiaq University of the Arctic are indicative of this growing trend. The Native sponsored programs have been developed outside the conventional channels and controls of the traditional educational

machinery, resulting in some innovative ideas with considerable potential for success. The initial response of the Native communities has been quite encouraging and supportive, but the traditional programs have been slow to respond.

These efforts however, are not always as threatening to existing programs and institutions as they first appear. The step from the conception of a new idea to its effective implementation is oftentimes a very frustrating and difficult one, in part because the persons technically qualified and available to accomplish the task, Native or non-Native, are themselves products of the traditional educational system. Consequently, the new programs often end up functioning in essentially the same manner and suffering the same inadequacies as the traditional programs. This problem is becoming particularly acute as the move to establish local control of the federally and state-operated schools in Alaska frees local or regional boards to develop educational programs uniquely suited to their needs, with little concern for externally imposed policies and administrative guidelines. Some of the new "Rural Education Attendance Areas" are finding their initial enthusiasm dampened because the operational versions of their attempts at new and innovative programs are often barely distinguishable from the programs they replaced. The new programs are handed over to an administrator who unintentionally subverts their unique qualities and purpose by translating them into a traditional administrative framework. Given the rapid development of new educational programs, many with only vague and ambiguous purposes and previously untried processes for achieving those purposes, it seems imperative that a new breed of educational administrator be fostered to assist these new programs through the trauma of their formative stages. How then might such an administrator define his role?

An Alternative Administrative Role

Fortunately, with the influx of numerous new educational programs in Alaska, school districts are experiencing a variety of alternative administrative approaches. As the number of unconventional educational administrators working in schools and Native organizations throughout the state increases, some common patterns and processes will emerge amongst the varied approaches, and these will gradually evolve into new administrative styles and practices. Through careful observation of these approaches we may be able to determine some of the characteristics that can be associated with a successful administrative style and prepare persons accordingly.

If the circumstances described above continue to evolve as indicated, the type of administrator needed to operate educational programs in rural Alaska in the future will probably be similar to that described by Gregorc and Johnson in the article cited earlier:

> An emerging view of a new-breed administrator is becoming evident. He is seen as an implementer, facilitator, and evaluator of education programs. He is seen as a synergist, teacher of teachers, an organizational designer, a political statesman, and an accountability monitor. He must be aware of interpretations of Equal Opportunity, program design, trends in curricular and personnel administration, and of local community mores. In this view, the school administrator is less a bureaucrat and more of a leader and facilitator. He is expected

> to understand individuals and groups and to utilize their individual talents rather than just manage an organization with fixed positions to be filled by replaceable, standardized parts. This type of administrator needs more than training in scheduling classes, disciplining students, increasing efficiency and managing an organization. He needs professional assistance in identifying and interpreting differences and likenesses among individuals and groups. Further, he needs guidance on how to organize collective efforts toward positive ends.

A key function of such an administrative role is to develop an administrative process that is capable of accommodating to the complex and dynamic quality of evolving educational programs. The administrative structure required for such programs must not only be able to support existing variables, but must be expansive enough to facilitate the development of new variables, allowing the programs to adapt to constantly changing circumstances. The new breed of administrator is, therefore, in a "variable-generating" role, and must possess the personal qualifications and expertise necessary to carry out such a role.

Since the variable-generating role implies an adaptive, innovative, flexible and loosely structured administrative approach, a person in such a role must, above all, possess a high tolerance for ambiguity. The educational problems in rural Alaska are oftentimes only vaguely defined with numerous variables responding to erratic forces in a generally unpredictable manner. Solutions to these problems are, therefore, often elusive, and at best, tentative. The programs designed to address such problems must maintain an open-ended, evolutionary approach, constantly seeking and incorporating new solutions as the significant variables become more explicit and better understood. The administrators of these programs must avoid seeking closure on an issue before it is absolutely necessary, so as to encourage consideration of all possible variables related to the issue. They must, therefore, be capable of tolerating the high degree of ambiguity inherent in such an approach.

Another characteristic essential to a variable-generating role is that the administrator be people-oriented. He must be sensitive to human differences and be able to build upon those differences. He must foster informal, open relationships and delegate responsibility through a decentralized and horizontally oriented administrative structure. He must insure the free flow of communications in all directions, and he must himself be tuned in and sensitive to formal and informal communication channels. He must be able to organize people in such a way that their diverse interests and collective efforts fuse and move in a desired direction. Instead of focusing on specific content intended to achieve an explicit end product, the administrator must direct his attention to the processes that will carry things forth in an implicit direction. His emphasis must be on establishing decision-making and problem-solving processes in which participants can themselves engage, rather than attempting to make all decisions and solve all problems himself. He must, therefore, understand the relationship between individual behavior and the social organization within which it occurs, and he must understand the nature of change processes.

If the above characterization does, indeed, adequately represent an emerging alternative administrative role for rural Alaska, what should be done about it? A traditional administrator, steeped in a variable-reducing

approach, would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible to adapt to a variable-generating approach. Anyone who has worked under more than one administrator is aware of the integral relationship between personality type and administrative style. The personality of the administrator and his modus operandi are inseparable and, therefore, give rise to the need for careful selection processes to match the person to the job. The type of person required to fulfill a variable-reducing role probably would not be suited for a variable-generating role.

If we can assume, then, that different administrative roles require different administrative styles, and the need for a new role is emerging in rural Alaska, our first task is to make sure that administrators with appropriate styles are available to fill those roles. Local school boards should have a choice when they have the opportunity to select an administrator to implement their programs. Since existing certification requirements and administrator training programs are largely oriented to traditional administrative styles, little choice currently exists. More flexible requirements and alternative training programs should be developed to allow for the selection and preparation of a wide range of administrative types. Those boards and agencies responsible for selecting educational administrators should then be acquainted with the alternatives available, and allowed to proceed accordingly.

Although administrators are not the only ones responsible for the success or failure of educational programs in rural Alaska, they are the persons who most directly influence how the programs operate, and thus, determine their ultimate viability. While the above description of the administrative role is somewhat impressionistic and incomplete, I have attempted to shed some light on how alternative administrative styles can influence educational program development, with the hope that administrators will thus be able to more readily adapt their efforts to meet the needs of the people they serve. Maybe then we will begin to develop educational programs and practices that are flexible, sensitive, and adaptive enough to be truly applicable across cultures.

CONTRASTING ADMINISTRATIVE STYLES

Traditional	Alternative
Variable-reducing	Variable-generating
Centralized control	Decentralized control
Formal relationships	Informal relationships
Tight structure	Loose structure
Likeness-oriented	Difference-oriented
Vertical staff relations	Horizontal staff relations
Directive	Non-directive
Information flows out	Information flows in
Managing role	Facilitating role
Explicit rules	Implicit rules
Restrictive communications channels	Open communications channels
Content/product oriented	Process/direction oriented
Converging focus	Diverging focus
Resistant to change	Receptive to change
Static structure and function	Evolutionary structure and function
Upward-responsive	Downward-responsive
Impersonal relationships	Personal relationships

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PART III

COMMUNITY/SCHOOL ISSUES

When the schools came
village families were broken
like stones under a great hammer.

The age-old pull of the seasons of fish and game
still tugged at the chests of the men
with the insistence of embeded fishhooks;
and when the great caribou migration started,
or apochrophal schools of salmon
returned to Bristol Bay,
when jagged leads began to appear
like great seams in the Arctic ice pack,
or the first dirty trails of springtime
showed in the snow on the sides of mountains
pinpointing bear dens . . .
came the inevitable morning
to Native families throughout the northland
when there was something **different** *in the houses:*
men rose up earlier than usual,
and with great deliberateness
pulled on their travelling clothes,
drank coffee, talked very little,
and went out on the trail of their fathers.

Women stood in the doorways, saying nothing,
no longer able—as had always
been their custom—to go along behind.

Little children ran after
their daddies' disappearing boat or sled—
helpless to prevent the leaving,
or the growing distance between them.

There were schools in the villages now,
and the White Man's Law
said Native children had to learn.
Well, they would.

—Bill Vaudrin

TOWARD A SYNTHESIS OF CULTURAL TRANSMISSION PROCESSES

by

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Every cultural group has been faced with the problem of its own survival among diverse neighboring populations. Some process (either explicit or implicit) for transmitting cultural values and insuring the development of appropriate behavior in the society's children must be established. This process involves the transmission of the essential knowledge, skills, and techniques of the older generations to the younger ones. Such skills include those necessary for survival in the natural as well as in the socio-economic environment and their transmission can be further categorized in terms of informal and formal processes. The informal occur in an incidental way, often as immediate need arises, in a natural setting; the formal usually require the establishment of an institution of some sort which specializes in controlling such processes and which usually is separated in some sense from the general flow of social life. These processes of cultural transmission—socialization, or formal and informal education—exist to preserve the traditional cultural life of the society.

A specific cultural group's development of transmission processes depends upon two major interactive factors: the nature and needs of the child, and the goals of the society.[1] Consequently, each society is unique in the details of its socialization processes and there is a great diversity around the world.[2] In Palau, an island in the Pacific, for example, children are taught in a painful manner that "people are not to be trusted,"[3] and this has definite repercussions in the economic, political, religious, et cetera, subsystems of the society. In contrast, the Ulithians, another Pacific Island group, are very "solicitous and supportive"[4] of their children, thus engendering trust and an atmosphere of relaxation. Although the basic physical needs of children in these two societies are likely the same, the groups' implied goals, based on their collective adaptations in their respective ecological systems, are different, and therefore demand the development of different emotional and intellectual attributes for the individual members of the culture.

Similarly, educational systems vary a great deal around the world especially with regard to their level of formality or informality. Chance[5] describes some aspects of the informal processes of education of the Inupiat Eskimo in northern Alaska as they were before contact with the Russians and Americans. Children learned the essentials of survival in Inupiat society and the natural setting by actually participating directly in the activities of the household. Boys accompanied their fathers on hunting trips while girls learned how to take care of the house. Religious and social lessons were learned through informal mechanisms like evening story-telling with elders or games and play with the peer group. There was no specific place or time that children learned important things; whenever there was a need or occasion for the transmission of traditional cultural skills or beliefs, such transmission occurred. This was an adaptive situation since, in a harsh environment like

northern Alaska, a group that depended on hunting and gathering its food could not spend a lot of time educating its young in a special place or at a special time or in a special way and obviously would not need to do so since most of the necessary things could be learned in other ways more closely connected to the daily lifestyle of the adults. They "did not have to worry about relating education to life because learning came naturally as a part of living."[6]

European and American societies have developed more diversified socio-economic systems with many more alternatives for an individual's survival in the environment and society. As a consequence, the school was developed as a formal institution designed to specialize in the transmission of certain aspects of the cultural heritage. Developed originally to teach children to read the Bible, the school slowly evolved to include many other areas, so that now it has taken on a larger share of the responsibility for transmitting a wide range of cultural values, attitudes, and knowledge to the young. It has also developed as a training ground for all sorts of vocations and careers and has begun to control, through educational sanctions, the gates to certain economic advantages. The school, of course, is a very formal mode of education; it "exists" only during certain times, five days a week, from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. for only 9 months each year; a professional elite has grown up to run it; special buildings have been built to house it; its activities are based on abstract systems which become increasingly complex as one progresses through the grades and increasingly separated from the ordinary daily life of the adult population. Although this American system of education has adapted somewhat to the highly complex needs of the society in which it developed, some critics would contend that it has become increasingly maladaptive, and that it does not really meet the needs of the young people anymore, nor does it transmit viable cultural beliefs and skills.

At any rate, it can be seen that both the indigenous Alaskan and the American culture groups developed their own distinctly unique cultural transmission processes according to their appropriateness for meeting the specific needs of the societies in which they arose. What happened when these different groups came into contact with each other in Alaska?

In a culture contact situation of this type, where one cultural group has a large population, great power, and great economic wealth, and where the other does not, usually the former becomes the dominant group. Its values, beliefs, and institutions take precedence over those of the smaller group, whose members begin to accommodate themselves to the larger group. This process is called acculturation. In Alaska, for several reasons, such a process has not been entirely completed; that is, although many Alaskan Natives have adapted some American technological and material elements as well as some social values and belief systems, they have not been completely acculturated. Many are still able to practice traditional subsistence lifestyles including hunting and gathering activities and their attendant social relationships. However, these are becoming more and more impossible to maintain with the influx of immigrants to Alaska and the development of mineral resources in the rural parts of the state.

This state of affairs, of course, has had and continues to have certain implications for the maintenance of continuity in the transmission of cultures in Alaska. With the introduction of schools to Alaskan Native villages there arose an obvious conflict between the American and indigenous peoples'

goals and their respective processes of cultural transmission. An Alaskan Native child was suddenly subjected to at least two patterns of life, two value systems, two systems of belief—one in his home, the other in the school. Not only that—such a child was subjected to at least two types of transmission structures and methods—again one at home and the other at school. Such a segregated system of cultural transmission could only engender confusion, discontinuity, unrequited expectations, and insecurity.

Recent educational practitioners have attempted to overcome the dissimilarities of content between these disparate cultural transmission systems through such things as bilingual programs, culture heritage programs, Indian Education programs, et cetera. These all seem to be steps in the right direction because they attempt to reintegrate aspects of the two cultures. That is, they attempt to bring some of the more traditional aspects of Alaskan village life into the classroom; for example, they encourage the continued use of the Native language and furthermore, attempt to utilize it for teaching aspects of the dominant culture. Similarly, they encourage the continued engagement in traditional arts and crafts, survival skills, and technology not only for their own inherent value but to assist in the transmission of the indigenous culture. In this way, perhaps, the content of the cultures in contact are partially beginning to be meshed and melded into a new viable cultural alternative.

However, if the methods, the structure, the form of the transmission process remain strictly that of the dominant culture, such a meshing cannot be entirely successful. Cultural content which is inextricably bound to informal transmission techniques as in the indigenous Alaskan Native system cannot readily be transmitted within a formal framework like the school classroom without being significantly altered. Thus, if some sort of mutual acculturative process is desired and a new cultural framework more amenable to the needs of rural Alaskan residents is to be established, then some alteration of the processes of cultural transmission institutionalized in the school must take place. What is needed is a restructuring of such processes in a way which more closely reflects the Alaskan village lifeway. The specific attributes of such systems would vary with location. Certain culture-bound laws and regulations regarding education should be relaxed to allow for experimentation with alternative administrative and pedagogical structures. Education would not have to take place in one building, separate and different from all the others in the village, from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., Monday through Friday, for an arbitrarily selected nine months of a year. It could be continuous, a part of the daily life of the village, and particularly of traditional roles, methods, and processes.

With the establishment of the Rural Education Attendance Areas, the people of rural Alaska have the opportunity to significantly alter the traditional American educational institutions in ways which will more appropriately meet their own needs. It is a difficult task and one which they will have to perform in their own way. It is up to the village people themselves to make decisions concerning the education of their youth. Only through their effort and commitment will it be possible to integrate different lifeways and cultural transmission processes by incorporating some of the traditional indigenous education modes into the formal education process. Moreover, in view of the increasingly frequent complaints about the maladaptive nature of the traditional school systems in America, such experimentation with

alternative forms among Native Alaskans, may also greatly benefit others in the American society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Watkins, Mark Hanna; pg. 427
2. Spindler in Beals; pg. 208
3. Ibid, pg. 210
4. Ibid, pg. 211
5. Chance, 1966
6. Yupiktak Bista, pg. 68

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Yupiktak Bista
Bethel

The Yukon-Kuskokwim Region is considered the most 'backward' in Alaska and as such stands a chance of preserving its culture through the educational system. It is our intent that by incorporating the study and practice of our culture in our schools we can save this culture from which we come. It is our conviction that the Yupik way of life can be saved and only our young can save it.

—Harold Napoleon, 1974

What kind of education will prepare our children for the uncertain future that lies ahead? How can education give them the options to strike their own balance in living on a combined subsistence and cash economy? How can we prepare our children to meet the unpredictable and difficult circumstances of the rapidly changing world?

We did not always have these problems of the meaning and purpose and approach to education. Before the erection of school houses and the introduction of professional teachers to whom Western civilization entrusts the minds of their children, education was growing up in a village. Education was done in the home with the father, mother, grandmother, grandfather, brother and sister, uncles, aunts, cousins, and friends. Education was also given by the weather, the sea, the fish, the animals and the land. Children at a very early age came to terms with the elements. We did not have to worry about relating education to life, because learning came naturally as a part of living. Education was the process of living from the land, of subsisting, of surviving.

The coming of Western civilization broke this unity of education and living. Suddenly survival depended upon knowing a new language, new skills and new ways of relating to people and the world. Today we have entrusted the minds of our young to professional teachers who seemingly know all there is to know. They are teaching a child how to read, write, repair a car, weld two pipes together. But they are not teaching the child the most important thing. Who he is: an Eskimo or Indian with a history full of folklore, music, great men, medicine, a philosophy, complete with poets; in short, there was a civilization, a culture which survived the harshest of environments for thousands of years. Now this culture and the subsistence way of life are being swept away by books, patents, money and corporations.

It is not our intent to wage war on Western civilization. We merely want to come to terms with it—on our own grounds. We do not dislike Western civilization or White Man. We simply treasure our young and our culture. It is our belief that both can live together side by side, but not

necessarily eating out of the same bowl. We can share potlatches and Christmas together.

Most parents see school as a necessary and vital thing if their children are going to share and take part in the Western way of life. If we are to control our own lives and run our own affairs we must each know the ways of the dominant culture. And we must have well-educated leaders who can look after the interests of the Yupik people. But the shortcomings of the present educational system have to be recognized.

When formal education began in this region in 1886 with the first Moravian Mission, people began giving up some of the mobility of the subsistence pattern of living. In order to be near the school, they had to forego some traveling to hunting and fishing camps. But even though people have become well-settled in villages all of which have schools, the achievement rate for Native children has remained far below the national average. In 1960 the average educational achievement level in this region was only 2.6 years. By 1970, the average had risen to 4.6 years.

Underlying the high dropout rate and absenteeism among students is the fact that school is an alien atmosphere for the children. Well over 90 per cent of the Native students in this region enter school speaking Yupik Eskimo which is spoken within the family as well as throughout the entire community life. Their lives become ordered by the ringing of bells and the calling of roll. They begin learning about buses, cows and chickens, Thanksgiving, baseball and spaceships; all of which may be interesting, but are nevertheless foreign to the village. Parents within this region have stated over and over again that acculturation and adjustment to Western society is not and cannot be a goal of education. However, a student's adjustment to the school environment demands acculturation which in turn represents a loss of traditional values and increased isolation from his own culture.

Look at the children at the age of five or six when they begin going to school to learn their ABC's from the adventures of Dick and Jane and their sense of history from the lives of George Washington, Franklin Roosevelt and Richard Nixon. The young children cannot identify with this way of living and these people. And so, as they are being prepared to go out into the world, they begin to lose a sense of their own identity, their own place and person.

This process of alienation continues and even accelerates when the children reach high school age. To attend high school they are usually away from their home most of the year. Their courses are designed to prepare them to go on to college and then on to various careers and professions. They are oriented toward finding the best paying jobs. Their lives become organized to the clock, the working day instead of the routines of living in a village.

Although the modern education system can give the children many skills that will be valuable, the process is usually very hard on them. During the time the children are away at school, learning more and more of the skills that it will take for them to live in the cities and become leaders in that world, they are learning less and less about their people and themselves. When they come back educated they are no longer the same children that we once saw leave for school. Some of them return home after so many years and are strangers to their own people. But much worse, they are stranger to themselves.

It has always been difficult for parents to send their children from their

village to go to school. Their sadness has been balanced by the belief that this was necessary for their children's future, so they could make their way in a changing world. Now many of these parents are realizing that the education system has a great weakness that is leaving many children unprepared to live either in the village world or the outside world. It doesn't develop and strengthen a child's own self image and confidence. His education doesn't help him know who he is or where he came from. His education leaves him stranded somewhere between the village way of life of his parents and the white way of life he has been taught in school. He is between two worlds, not really belonging to either.

Education and Survival

Our young people are often not prepared in practical ways to live in either world. Their high school programs supposedly lead to careers and professions, but all too often the young people can not find jobs. Employment in the region is scarce, with many skilled jobs going to white people who gained experience outside the region. Some young people migrate to the cities where there are more opportunities, only to find they are not prepared for the competition of the wage earning market place.

Likewise, the young people are often not prepared to live in the bush. During their student years they have not been learning all the skills necessary to subsist off the land. One result of their studies has been that many have not had the opportunities to learn how to hunt, fish, prepare food and make clothing. If subsistence skills are lost, there could be tragic consequences to the Yupik people who have by nature been self-sufficient. People have survived in this region only because they have known how to draw food, clothing and shelter from the land. In this time we are living now, people are tempted to depend upon money. If a person has one skill that can earn him money, he can go to the store and buy food, buy clothing, buy plywood and 2 x 4's to build a house. But there is great danger in this. Inflation is driving up the costs of everything so that one must work more for less. We have also seen that there are sometimes shortages of store-bought things. Sometimes one cannot find the food one needs at the store. Sometimes clothing, fuel, building materials and other things are not available. If a person knows only how to live from the store, he will be lost if one day the things in the store cost too much or are simply not available. But if the person also knows how to live from the land he will survive.

Until recently only a few radical economists and environmentalists dared suggest that there are limits to growth and wealth, that there could be a world economic crisis. But recently we have heard the President of the United States warn that a recession or depression might come. We hear world leaders warn that the world's economic system may collapse, that there may be widespread famine. But it is not hard to imagine our difficulties if such an economic disaster comes. If store bought supplies become scarce across the nation, our region will probably be one of the first places in which they disappear altogether. If there is nothing in the stores, money will be worthless.

And if money is worthless, the cash earning skills we have been taught will be worthless. The people who will survive will be the ones who have the skills to live from the land.

As a people and as individuals we must consider very carefully how our

education can make us dependent upon the Western economic system, the future of which, is unstable at best. If our children are educated just like other children in Anchorage, and Des Moines, Iowa they will grow to be just as dependent upon the Western economic system. Our children could come to be just as vulnerable as anyone to the fluctuations of the stock market and the whims of Arab oil dealers. But if the education our children receive helps them retain some of the subsistence skills and self-sufficiency of their ancestors, they will carry into the uncertain future tools which may make the difference between surviving and perishing in difficult times.

Subsisting and surviving require different skills in different places. The knowledge one needs to survive in Harlem is different than the knowledge one needs to survive in mid-Western farm country. Men living in the jungles of Brazil must know certain things to live in their environment; men living in the highlands of Nepal must know other things. The Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta is a very demanding environment which can seem hostile to those who do not know its ways, but which can provide life to those who know how to live with the land. Education of children in this region should equip them to live with the land.

Even if there is never an economic collapse, subsistence skills and knowledge of the land and waters will be invaluable. Such knowledge will permit Yupik people to live a fuller, richer life. And it will help them use, protect and manage subsistence resources in the context of the modern world. As long as subsistence resources continue to be the resource base of this region, knowing how to use them, and care for them will continue to be extremely important.

Just as important to the subsistence way of living as the skills of hunting and fishing, sewing and preserving foods are the ways of cooperating and working together. As elaborate as the modern classroom may be, it is still not equipped to really teach children the ways of sharing and helping others that has in the past been learned in the home and village. In fact, the competitive atmosphere of modern schools in many ways works at cross purposes to the cooperative atmosphere of traditional Eskimo education. This conflict is so fundamental that Pat Locke, a Sioux Indian wise in the ways of both Native and Western education, once said, "that all the differences between the two processes of education stem from the fact that the purpose of Western education is for the individual to find ways to excel and promote himself, his career, his life; whereas, the purpose of Native education has always been for the individual to find ways to serve his family, be a useful part of his community, to work for and with his people."

In our region, in our past, sharing and cooperation have not been just social niceties. They have been ways of survival. If everyone were just looking out for himself, the Yupik culture would have vanished long ago. It has been through sharing and helping each other that people have survived. Children learned these ways naturally as they grew up in the village. It is a great event when a boy gets his first seal, not just because he has proven himself a hunter but because he has something to share with others. His first seal is divided among people in the village, first to the older people who can no longer get seals themselves.

Frank Nokozak has related how he learned the ways of sharing and helping others: (John Paul Jones interpreting)

You know what the older people used to do for him? They

would share their things with the people who did not have them. He did this for the people who did not have . . . . When the people come to his place, he gives them food. People go to his home to ask for dried fish. He gives dry fish to those people because they need it. He said he wouldn't be like that if it wasn't for his dad who used to tell him to always be kind and give to the people who do not have. His dad used to tell him to be that way because you only live once. The people are born in one time and die. He repeated that it was his dad that taught him always to be kind and share.[1]

The classrooms can neither teach the skills nor impart the values and character which link the children to the subsistence way of life of their culture.

Building a New Way of Education

The process of young people losing their identity and not being prepared to cope with life is costing us many young people each year. And each year our young people seem a little less self-sufficient, a little less able to live from the land. These problems have been growing since our first contact with whalers, traders and missionaries. How can they be dealt with? We do not have ready-made solutions. But we do have a starting point and a direction in which to head. To make education more meaningful for our children we must start with our people in the villages and proceed to develop an educational process that combines the learning of ABC's and algebra with our traditional values, skills, and ways of living and learning.

To begin developing this type of learning process, Yupiktak Bista started in the spring of 1974 a Cultural Heritage Program in which students as the Bethel and St. Mary's High Schools returned to villages for two weeks. During this period, older people in the village taught the students their own history and traditional skills. A live-in learning experience was chosen over a "Native studies" course because such courses set students up as observers much the same way a birdwatcher studies a bird or an anthropologist studies a culture. If the student is just a watcher, he remains inactive when he should be an active participant and he can actually become further disassociated from himself and his culture. Only by "living" his own culture will a student come to appreciate, understand and be a part of it.

In describing the Cultural Heritage Program to some students, Peter Atchak, who helped get the program started once said:

> When you get to a village the older people will tell you stories about how things were a long time ago. The women will teach the girls how to be women. And the men will teach the boys how to be men.

So it was that students went out to villages, often not their home villages, to live with foster parents who could teach them traditional ways. As the following comments by the students reveal, it was quite an experience for them. A boy who went to Hooper Bay said:

> Activities I participated in were the Eskimo dance and telling stories to the old people (testing my skills, whether I knew or not the stories they told me; they let me do the talking the day after they talk.) What I made during the cultural heritage program was the spear, the spear handle, fish hook spear, fish hook spear handle, ivory

ring, a model seal out of soap stone, a parka, water boots out of seal skin, and information about how to make sleds, boats, and drawings of the old. The new skills I learned were to balance on top ot the wavy sea in a kayak, and throw a spear without tipping over and a lot about hunting in the sea with just the kayak.

Man, it was all right! Because they were open to me as well as to my friends who went down to Hooper Bay. I would like to go back to a village where I stayed. And I was just getting dreaming with the old people. They brought me to their world. They let me feel I was old when I got out of their stories.[2]

Another boy summed up his experiences in Toksook Bay by saying:

All of these projects were of an advantage to me, cause I have never really gotten into Eskimo culture. Now I have a brief meaning of how survival takes place, what skills were needed to become a man, and how to make things to live off of.[3]

Staff of the Kuskokwim Health Corporation said:

. . . especially noteworthy to us has been the reaction of the students and dormitory parents to the First Cultural Heritage Program. At a time when Bethel was experiencing some 'pre-breakup' behavior the high school students returned enthusiastic and in a positive frame of mind. Therefore, we would encourage the continuation of such a stimulating program with many desirable mental health consequences.[4]

The high school nurse was another person who noticed a change in attitude and outlook on life. Peggy McMahon said:

In working with the high school students as their nurse, I have been able to observe their behavior and attitudes throughout the school year. As always, the first semester of school started out with high enthusiasm in both teachers and students. However, there seemed to be a real let-down in spirit after the Christmas vacation. Class attendance seemed to drop and I found many more students in my clinic with vague physical complaints and emotional problems. It seemed that many students were using the excuse of going to the nurse's clinic, but just wanted to talk to someone about their restlessness with school and desire to go home. More than the usual number of students seemed to be 'down' during the months of January, February, and March. I think the introduction of the First Cultural Heritage Program at this time was valuable. It came at the end of the third quarter when spirits were especially low. I know that I was having difficulty dealing with the negative and demanding attitudes and behavior of many of the students during February and March. The Cultural Heritage Program seemed to give everyone a chance to learn different things and in a different setting than the school building. The first week after the Program I found that the students seemed happier, less demanding and better able to cope with some of their prob-

lems than they were before the two week program.[5]

Some of the strongest reactions to the Cultural Heritage Program came from the parents and old people who had worked with the students. Hilma Shavings from Mekoryuk said she felt this approach to education was:

> . . . very important for our children, since a lot of our children are losing their own culture. I feel this program is a little bit of a beginning for our kids to see how their ancestors live to survive in this land that white man would call 'harsh country.' I feel this should be an ongoing program because even my own kids don't know how we have lived. They haven't seen the houses we used to live in. My own girl, that's going to Junior College, doesn't know how to sew how we do . . . I think this cultural heritage program will help the students. You never know what they might run into during their lifetime. At least, in case they run into some hardships they'll know how to make their own things. If it's a girl, make their own clothes and sewing and things like that. If it were a man, at least he will know how to survive if he was out on the tundra. You'll never know with all these traveling by snowmachines, airplanes, outboard motors, if you'll get to your destination. At least they should know how to survive without having to depend on these conveniences all the time.[6]

Also, emphasizing the importance of knowing traditional skills was Andrew Brown of Mt. Village:

> This program was one of the best things that ever happened in this area. The things our forefathers used to do is to good of a thing to let it phase out. Who knows when the things the students learn might be the ones for survival in case of emergency or anything that will cut us off from the outside world. It could be for a short time or for a long period. Our land can still provide us clothing and food. Our young people should learn how to tackle with these things. Our culture is phasing out. Right now is the time to revive it back.[7]

In Chevak, David Friday said:

> I've been home for a long time and I was home during the time the St. Mary's students and Bethel Regional High School students were at home and most of the people participated with the Cultural Heritage Program. Because of what's been happening some of these people haven't been doing these things. Then all of a sudden this Cultural Heritage Program came to the people. It made an impression on me that these people are learning that their culture is cool. I think this Cultural Heritage Program helped the people out in the villages too. Some of them dug up cultures from the past to teach these children. They are the type of people, I think, that are caught between two cultures. They don't know what to do or how to make a living because they are confused. I think with this program, it helped find themselves in a situation where some of these people weren't really too certain of who they really are, their real selves, where they'd be satisfied and happy about it . . . There were a comment

> from an old man who said, 'I don't want to pass this life unless I pass my knowledge to another younger person.' I *think this Cultural Heritage Program has* opened that door to many of our people.[8]

The Cultural Heritage Program is not meant to turn back the clock, to prepare young people to live just as their ancestors did. Its purpose is to begin building a new educational process which will be based on our way of life. The value of passing on traditional ways is not because it is a way to turn from the present world, but because it simply offers young people the best hope of making their way into a troubled and uncertain future. Knowing the ways of their Yupik ancestors offers young people the invaluable qualities of self-confidence, self-reliance and the ability to live from the land should they choose to or should this become necessary for survival.

Modern education reflects the ways that Western civilization appears to have lost its way and no longer makes any sense. But we are now tied to this dominant culture. We must know its ways; we must have the necessary tools to cope with its problems and make use of its opportunities. So it is, that to find ourselves as individuals and as a people and make our way into the future, we will need the knowledge and ways of learning of our heritage and also the skills and knowledge of Western civilization.

How can a new process of education that draws from both cultures be created? What policy and institutional changes must be made? How will new curriculum, methods and teachers be introduced? These are not easily answered questions.

The difficulties of bringing about change in the entrenched educational system are many, but our experience with programs like the Cultural Heritage live-in has shown us that they are not impossible to overcome. And the basis for change toward an educational process combining two cultures must be an appreciation and acceptance of "multi-cultural equality." In education, multi-racial equality recognizes that Native students are still Native people. Many of them may prefer to speak the language of their people and to live in villages as hunters, fishermen, wives and mothers, rather than enter the competitive and materialistic life of the cities. Their education should prepare them for this way of life. It should not, as the present system does, cut off this option. And all of our children, even those who go on to college and professions beyond our region, need to know their roots in the subsistence way of life of the Delta in order to know themselves. So it is that the education of all our young people must include learning some of the old ways and learning how to subsist on the Delta today.

Multi-cultural equality implies that parents and grandparents should be involved in the educational process, as teachers, advisors, counselors, administrators, and school board members. A man or woman who has lived in a village all their life and perhaps has never gone to high school may nevertheless have more meaningful ideas about high school education on the Delta than a professor armed with degrees and years of experience.

The wisdom of our old people should be respected at least as much as the knowledge of the school teacher. Each finds within himself a balance between the elements of these two heritages and ways of life. Education should help keep options open for young people to live different kinds of life styles. The classrooms should not close the doors on the subsistence way of life that has been a good way of life for the Yupik people for thousands of years.

FOOTNOTES

1. Testimony, D-2 Land Hearings, Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission, 1973.
2. Interview by Yupiktak Bista.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

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THE SCHOOL CULTURAL HERITAGE PROGRAM: SOME QUESTIONS

by

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Introduction

It is probably safe to say that most teachers and administrators in schools serving Alaskan Eskimos and Indians have at least entertained the idea of incorporating local history and cultural heritage into the school curriculum. The demand for minority rights nationally, the issues raised as a result of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, and the availability of federal grants for cultural heritage projects have inspired numerous attempts at teaching Native students about their own traditions. Unfortunately, many of these programs have been planned without adequate research, have had questionable results, and have not continued as a regular part of the curriculum upon the termination of the initial project.

Many advocates of cultural heritage programs do not seem to realize that a good program or project requires careful planning and thoughtful consideration of the issues involved. There are major questions which must be answered as part of the planning process. One of these questions is, "What is the local cultural heritage and how does one find out about it?" Most educators have no background in the subject and little in the way of the texts, audio-visual aids, and expertise which are available to them in curriculum areas such as math and reading. Although there are books which offer information about Alaskan Eskimos and Indians in general, there is often little written about the background of any one locality.

The purposes of any particular program should be given careful consideration. Enhancement of the student's identity as an Indian or an Eskimo is often given as the rationale for cultural heritage programs. Is it likely to be true that an Eskimo fifth grader will feel more confidently Eskimo if he learns how to carve an ivory seal? Or is it important that he learn how to make some of the traditional crafts so that he can sell them and supplement his income? There are other questions. What is the feeling within the community about cultural heritage studies? Do local people really want these things taught? If so, why? In what way do they value them? How can information about the students' historical past best be presented and who should do the teaching?

In an effort to deal with some of these questions as they apply to one Eskimo community, I took photographs and examples of traditional craft work to Nunivak Island in the summer of 1972 and conducted interviews with 62 Nunivakers between the ages of 6 and 72. The purpose of the study was to clarify the relationship of present day Nunivak Islanders to their art heritage and to make some recommendations for curriculum development. The interviews included questions about the traditional crafts of Nunivak Island and related stories, dances, and songs.

Due to the relative isolation of Nunivak Island, the traditional Nunivak way of life was not seriously threatened by outside influences until after 1940. As a result, there is more written information about Nunivak arts than

about most others in the Southwest Alaskan area. A review of the literature showed that this particular part of the world was a center for excellent ivory carving, wooden dish, utensil, and mask making in the nineteenth century and, to some extent, in the early years of this century. The women's crafts of basket making and skin sewing have persisted into the present. Little is known of prehistoric art in this region and there are no comprehensive studies of any craft of the area other than mask making. All of these crafts are represented in publications and in museums throughout the world.

Results of the Interviews

The results of the interviews with Nunivakers can be summarized as follows:

1. The older the interviewee the more likely he was to recognize traditional art work and to understand its original purpose. The old people were the only acknowledged authorities in these matters. It was clear that traditional craft skills were not being passed on to the younger generations. Although most of the interviewees did some type of craft work, only the older ones were inclined toward the traditional crafts included in this study. More girls and women than boys and men did some type of craft work.

2. Masks which were close in appearance to recent Nunivak masks were recognized by more people than other styles, and, in fact, response to older area-wide styles was slight.

3. Masks were not in use in the village at the time of the study and had not been so for many years. Only the oldest interviewees had actually seen masks used in dances and ceremonies. Wooden dishes were apparently not in use at all at the time of the study and carved ivory objects were no longer produced primarily for local use. Grass baskets were still made partly for use and the other women's craft, skin sewing, was the most functional of all the traditional crafts at the time of the study.

4. When asked which crafts are most important today, members of each sex tended to emphasize the crafts made primarily by members of that sex. Over all, crafts were rated the most important to the least important as follows: mask making, skin sewing, grass work, ivory carving, and wooden dish and utensil making. The crafts made primarily by men, (masks, ivory, and wooden ware) were termed important mainly for their sale value whereas the crafts made by women, grass work and skin sewing, were made both for sale and for use. Nearly everyone interviewed wanted Nunivak children to learn about the crafts, stories, songs, and dances, which were discussed during the interviews. Interviewees indicated very little belief that the children would ever sell or use the craft items and placed more emphasis on group identity values.

5. Most people approved of the idea of sharing of Nunivak traditional arts and activities with other Eskimo villages, and, to a lesser extent, with White children. Nunivakers stated very strongly that they wanted Nunivak children to be taught about Nunivak things by Nunivak people.

Discussion

Taken together, the interviews and the review of the literature indicated a pattern of changing values which have been associated with the crafts over the last one hundred years. In the nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries, the crafts were made for use within Eskimo culture. They can be said to have had utilitarian value as opposed to sale/trade value.

When local materials, religion, and social practices were replaced with materials and ideas from the "outside," and Nunivakers became involved in the souvenir trade in this century, many crafts lost much of their utilitarian value. At the same time that manufactured items became available, a market for craft items opened and the crafts were then traded for goods or sold for money. At that time, probably beginning in the 1920's, the reasons for making many of the crafts objects became less for personal or family use than for sale or trade to outsiders. The crafts can be said to have gained an economic value which they did not have before.

Now, indications are that this value, too, many be disappearing as the older people who know how to produce these things pass from the scene and other ways to obtain cash become available. For example, most of the interviewees had no real expectations that the village children would ever make crafts either for their own use of for sale, and yet, they nearly all wanted the children to know about them. These things seemed to be gaining a new importance, not because they were to be used or sold, but solely because they were identified as Nunivak Eskimo things. The emerging value was cultural identity value. It cannot be said that this type of value was not previously attached to the crafts; that is, that they were not valued for their "Nunivakness," or their "Eskimoness," but in traditional times there was no pressure to make an issue of it. In precontact and early contact times, the local value system was not jeopardized by outside forces. The issue of ethnocultural "identity" had no meaning when nearly everyone, regardless of whether Mainlander or Islander, subscribed to essentially the same cultural patterns and system of values.

The reasons for the new valuing of Nunivak Eskimo things by Nunivak Eskimos may be speculated upon. Perhaps publicity concerning minority rights from the "outside" or the political climate involving the Native Land claims issues has affected local opinion. It may be that changed attitudes of some personnel in agencies and institutions toward Native cultural heritage and accompanying grants for studies and programs have had their influence. Or, perhaps increased sophistication on the part of residents in regard to the effects of "acculturation" on the local value system has occurred. Most likely, a combination of events and circumstances has stimulated thinking which has led to the new valuing of Nunivak arts.

Whatever the causes, certainly a question is raised in regard to the relationship of cultural heritage studies and the concept of identity. If an interviewee knew nothing about the crafts, if he had never used them, and therefore had no basis of association with his cultural group until the interviewer appeared on the scene, and told him that these were Nunivak or Eskimo things, how could these things be a part of his identity, a concept which Erik Erikson spoke of as being an "irreversible historical fact" (1968:11) or the basis of the feeling, "I am," or "I exist?" (Cohen and Brawer, 1972:10) The answer may be that if he had already established the category of "Eskimo things" or "Nunivak things" as valuable, and as a part of himself, then he needed only to learn that a piece of craft work belonged to the valued category in order to value and accept it. Certainly the older people, who had known these objects as parts of their lives, could be said to identify more closely and automatically with some of the arts

and crafts, but the desire of the younger people not to lose these things, even when it is obvious that the crafts mean little to them in terms of their practical, everyday lives, is not to be discounted.

Also, it would appear that an element of choice is possible in identification with a group of people or the things that one associates with that group. Erikson seemed to agree that the inclusion of things in one's identity or the things one identifies with can come from conscious choice although this will often be done in response to pressures that threaten one's basic value system (1964:93). Fitzgerald discussed a related phenomenon in his inquiry into the complexity of acculturation processes and the Maori of New Zealand. He implied that although one may never have experienced aspects of a given cultural heritage, he may make them a part of his ethnic identity, even to having the identity without the culture (1970:14). And, indeed, this would seem to be so. If, in the early thirties, as one Christian missionary claims, Nunivakers "threw their idols into the sea," (Almquist, 1962:52) and in 1972 they told me that they wanted their children to be taught about the traditional Nunivak things, then choice seems possible, however it might be influenced by historical pressure.

A critic of this change in viewpoint might point out that people always cling sentimentally to a way of life that is passing before they give it up for good. Erikson might, judging from some of his comments on similar subjects, be inclined to say that the Nunivak people, threatened with the rush of acculturative influences now hope to bolster a tentative sense of centrality or ethno-cultural self with things that are no longer relevant to their everyday lives. He might even wonder whether they are attempting to maintain a "synthetic" identity. What seems important to this writer is that the individual accepts himself and his own background, ethno-cultural, or otherwise, and successfully integrates it into his personal whole. A sense of belonging to a shared past and a shared future with the group with which one associates himself would most likely facilitate this integration.

The problem is that Nunivakers have grown to adulthood in a culture which had traditionally passed on its values, history, and religion by means of observation and the oral tradition. With the observable traditional activities partially gone and the oral tradition interrupted by Western schooling, it is very difficult for Nunivak young people and children, under present circumstances to learn much about their own history which could be integrated into a personal whole. To complicate the situation, Nunivakers who complete eighth grade usually go on to a boarding school away from home for their high school years. In the case of the Nunivakers, the mechanism for transmitting the Eskimo past has been displaced by a mechanism which transmits other content. The content is the heritage and value system of their cultural "in-laws," the members of the dominant national culture.

However, as shown in the interview results, there now exists a conviction among the Nunivakers that there is an Eskimo cultural heritage, although what that heritage is does not seem to be entirely clear, either to many of the Nunivakers or to those who have written about them. Most interviewees felt that whatever it is is tied in some way to the old people in the village and embodied in their memories and skills. Along with this is a strong desire to have those things which are identified as being "Eskimo" valued and respected and taught to the younger Nunivakers, regardless of the antiquity or lack of it of the objects or traditions.

Recommendations for School Programs

The strongest implication of this study is that the younger people should learn about traditional Nunivak arts. It is a temptation to recommend that the village school immediately begin to teach Eskimo history, arts, and crafts, and other aspects of Eskimo cultural heritage. However, it would be wise to think of what the interviewees said in response to the question, "Who do you think knows the most about these thing?" The old people in the village were cited as the authorities and were the ones whom a substantial proportion of the interviewees wanted to teach the children. Because feelings about the Nunivak past appear to be tied closely to feelings about the oldest people in the village, the desire to have them act as teachers should be respected.

Also, while some teachers have read and studied Eskimo history, the teacher's access to knowledge of such matters is likely to be largely that which is available in the literature, and the available literature seems to be both limited in detail and written from the interested and often sympathetic, but nevertheless ethnocentric viewpoint of people who were not a part of the culture about which they are writing. Their records may be of value in explaining Nunivak arts to outsiders or in organizing materials, but should not be used as the sole source of information when knowledgeable older people who grew to adulthood within the traditional culture are available. An exception to that might be the presentation of such traditional arts as nineteenth century masks, which no longer exist in the village.

It is this writer's recommendation that the following guidelines be utilized for the teaching of Eskimo arts on Nunivak Island and other places in similar cultural circumstances.

1. In the formal school situation, Eskimo arts should be given their own place in the curriculum. A cultural heritage program need not be limited to the items discussed in the study. They were intended to be only representative of traditional arts. Nunivak Islanders and other Eskimo groups have produced a wide variety of items which were part of the material culture as well as stories, dances, games, and songs which were not specifically mentioned in the literature, but which are still known to at least some villagers.

2. The stance of the school system, the university, or any other agencies or organizations working in the area of cultural heritage should be facilitating rather than directive. Educational organizations should provide the mechanism whereby the most likely environment for the teaching of knowledge and appreciation of the traditional arts would be fostered, but the choice of whether or not to pursue this or that approach should be left up to the people in the village and the local school boards. Some things cannot be decided at all by outsiders. For example, one factor which complicates any scheme for teaching Eskimo arts is the matter of current religious beliefs and resulting attitudes toward the pre-Christian use of the masks. The masks and dances had a central role in traditional Eskimo religious ceremony. Any person who deals with cultural heritage studies must be careful to take into consideration local sensitivity to the traditional symbolism and function of masks and dances.

3. Whenever possible, older village people should be employed to teach younger people about these things. Responses to the interviews indicated that an initial effort on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to do just this thing was well received at Mekoryuk. Since there seems to be an existing

concensus as to which people in the village know the most about the various "old time things," it should not be difficult for an advisory school board to identify appropriate teachers.

School teacher aides and other regularly employed paraprofessionals could be responsible for part of the presentation and organizing of the local Eskimo arts program because they often give a continuity to the school program by their year to year presence and they should be closely attuned to community feelings.

4. Curriculum materials should be developed which will be supportive of the teaching of cultural heritage. The schools **can** present some things which have been collected by early explorers, missionaries, and anthropologists and are beyond the memory of the old people. A danger of distortion lies in the translation from the oral to the written tradition in stories and history, and from the three dimensional craft with a decorated surface to the photograph or drawing on the flat page and from the use of Yu'pik to English. However, within the present circumstances, this is partially unavoidable and it is mentioned as a caution against a callous wholesale presentation of stories and art work in printed form under the belief that this is totally capturing anyone's "cultural heritage." In general, materials should be presented as directly and as close to their original forms as possible.

5. The attitude of the school personnel should be neither condescending toward Eskimo arts nor should teachers insist that students do or study only Eskimo art. One of the most helpful functions of the school in this regard is that it can help show students the rightful and unique place which Eskimo arts hold in world art. Teachers should encourage an integrated viewpoint rather than suggest that there is an either-or choice to be made.

Further Study

1. Evaluation components should be written into cultural heritage projects. The focus should be on an enhanced sense of identity and would probably best be done by field methods which involve participant observation procedures. Local school personnel, including paraprofessionals, could employ these procedures in an informal manner or community members might want to be trained and utilized. It should be fairly easy, through the use of simple questions, to find out whether or not students know anything about it, whether it has any place in their own lives beyond school, and whether or not they think of it as related to their own cultural background.

2. There is still a need for further research for materials development and for scope and sequence in developing a cultural heritage curriculum. Very little has been written, for example, about the women's crafts of grass basketry and skin sewing. Also, further investigation might show that there is a culturally natural sequence for teaching craft skills so that certain kinds of things would be taught to some age groups and other kinds of things to other age groups.

3. Some comparative studies might be done concerning this particular group of Eskimo people and other groups whose traditional basis of identity has been threatened or obliterated. It may be that there are some unique things about the Alaskan situation including the rise of an interest in cultural heritage studies at a time when some of the traditional life style is still intact. Attitudes toward ethno-cultural identity in different groups might be compared. Another kind of comparison might also be made. If young Nuni-

vakers have no sense of a Nunivak past beyond their parents, whose own information may be limited, how are their attitudes toward themselves as members of a group different from young people who have had their racial and cultural histories taught to them and reinforced by the total environment of home, school, religious institution, and popular culture?

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FIELD-BASED EDUCATION FOR ALASKAN NATIVE TEACHERS

by

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In the following paper I will attempt to reconstruct the conceptual and operational evolution of a program for the training of Alaskan native teachers. I will describe the first six years of the program's development, focusing on those aspects that reflect consideration of the unique cultural environment in which the program operates. I address these issues from the perspective of an academic coordinator for the program since its inception. My formal training is in anthropology and education. To the extent that a native point of view is expressed in this paper, it is a product of my interpretation of that view as a non-native, and should be judged accordingly.

Background

The program, known originally as the Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps (or ARTTC), was established in 1970 as a four-year experimental program with the primary purpose of training native elementary school teachers. The original proposal specified that the training would be field-centered, and that it would meet the usual requirements for a Bachelor of Education degree and an elementary teaching certificate. Under a somewhat ambiguous administrative arrangement involving two universities and the State-operated school system, three staff persons (one representing each of the above) were hired and charged with implementing the program. Eleven training sites were established in rural native communities around the State, each with a team of four to eight undergraduate students (primarily native) and a full-time, certificated "team leader."

Under these conditions, we (the three program staff and eleven team leaders) set out to produce teachers. We began planning for a six week orientation program that was to prepare everyone for the years ahead. As we proceeded, however, we gradually realized that our task was not going to be simply a matter of applying the latest teacher training techniques to this particular group of students, thus producing a new and improved breed of teacher for rural Alaska. With this realization, we found it necessary to step back and ask ourselves a few basic questions:

1. Why train natives to be teachers?
2. What is a "native" teacher?
3. How do you train "native" teachers?

Why Train Natives To Be Teachers?

Our initial response to the question, "Why train native teachers?" was to point out that nearly every recent study and report on native education in the country recommended such action. In addition, there was the political pressure from the natives themselves to become a part of the action. But that didn't answer the basic question, "Why?" It soon became obvious that we were moving into relatively uncharted territory and the only landmarks we could see were a few untested assumptions, such as:

1. A native teacher will be better able to assess and respond to the learning needs of a native child. This assumption presumes that similarities in cultural background between teacher and child will improve communication and thus foster greater mutual understanding and learning.
2. A native teacher will provide a model with which native students can identify, thus motivating them to achieve greater educational success. This assumption presumes that a native teacher will acquire status in the eyes of the native community.
3. A native teacher will remain within the State and acquire greater cumulative teaching experience which will result in a broader and deeper understanding of local educational processes. This assumption is sometimes viewed as "parochialism," but it addresses the very real problem of transciency.

We proceeded with these as untested assumptions, because the State had too few practicing native teachers to provide any basis for determining otherwise. We, then, had to explore another question, "Why have so few natives become teachers in the past?" On the basis of our own training and experience, we were confident that the native students possessed the necessary capabilities to become teachers, so the easiest response to the question was to blame "the system." Only a few Native students were coming to the universities for an education, fewer were enrolling in teacher training, fewer yet were completing a four-year degree program, and of those who did complete a teacher training program, only a small number returned to a native community to teach. But blaming the system did not satisfactorily resolve the question either. So again, we had to postulate some ideas through which we could determine how best to proceed with a program that was supposed to address this particular problem. Our assumptions were:

1. The university campus, as a detached and somewhat impersonal learning environment, contributed to the low academic achievement rate of native students. Coming to the university was a one-way street for many native students. A successful campus experience required familiarity with and adherence to a wide range of socio-cultural patterns, many of which were not compatible with the attitudinal and behavioral skills required for survival in the village. Thus, a native person who learned to survive on campus often was no longer satisfied with, or acceptable to, his home community.
2. The teacher training curriculum did not address the needs of students desiring to teach in a physical and cultural environment different from the unidemensional, ethnocentric model around which most teacher training programs were designed. Contemporary teacher training curricula placed a great deal of emphasis on preparing the teacher to assess and provide for "individual differences." Students were saturated with a psychological perspective of learning and teaching, derived largely from the study of individuals and small groups within Western society. While such train-

> ing may have been useful, and even necessary, it did not provide an adequate perspective for assessing and responding to the needs of children in rural native communities. Their individual needs had to be assessed within the context of the broader social and cultural environment within which they existed.

Assuming then, that native teachers would provide a unique and desirable service to rural native communities, and that the detachment of the campus experience and the inadequacy of the teacher training curriculum were partially responsible for the limited number of such persons, we now had a rationale and some points of departure from which to proceed on our evolutionary journey.

What Is A "Native" Teacher?

We did not proceed far, however, before we realized that in order to develop and operate a teacher training program we had to have some idea of what we were trying to produce, or at least a direction in which to move. We had an alternative to the campus setting, in that the program would be largely field-centered, but we could not develop an alternative curriculum until we had some idea of the kind of teacher we wanted. We could have taken the traditional teacher training curriculum and delivered it to the students in the field, on the assumption that such an approach would at least succeed in placing some natives in the teaching profession. But this approach would not capitalize on the unique strengths the students might possess as natives. Worse yet, it might even destroy some of those strengths.

On the other hand, we could deviate from the traditional curriculum by defining the teachers' role in the form of "competencies" and judge the students' teaching ability on the basis of "performance criteria" assessed in terms of "measurable behavior." In this way we would at least have some flexibility in developing the program. But defining the competencies required for a "native" teacher, proved to be an elusive endeavor, for no prototype existed. The handful of teachers of native descent in the state had all gone through a traditional teacher training program and were barely distinguishable from other teachers. In addition, no one prototype of a teacher, native or otherwise, could possibly satisfy the diverse cultural and educational needs of the rural native communities. We were also concerned about becoming too bound up in the mechanics of a strict "competency-based" approach and losing sight of the original purpose of the program. The competency approach, therefore, seemed more inhibiting than helpful for our purposes.

We knew, from the limited literature on the subject at the time (primarily Collier), that subtle differences between native and non-native "teachers" in their relationships with native children appeared to have a significant impact on the response of those children to formal learning, even though the materials presented and the learning environments were otherwise similar. The differences seemed to be related, in part, to more compatible communication and interaction styles between native teachers and students, derived from prior associations and common cultural experiences. One of our major concerns then, was to avoid destroying those characteristics inherent in the native person's attitude and behavior that might allow them to relate more effectively to native children. Although we still could not define the ultimate end product, we could at least now state that the program would

attempt to protect and nurture the intrinsic qualities that the students brought with them. But we were no further along in explicating those qualities.

We were also aware that the institution of "schooling" and thus, the role of "teacher" as we know it today, were once alien notions in the rural native communities, introduced to the native people within this century by well-intentioned outsiders who only vaguely understood or anticipated the consequences of their action. While "education" was viewed primarily as an informal and life-long process prior to the arrival of schools in rural Alaska, it had since become synonymous with those activities that occurred within the large, luminated building on the hill, and had been further confined to six hours a day, five days a week, 180 days a year. Consequently, the parents and children in the remotest community in Alaska had developed expectations regarding the role of "teacher" similar to those held in any other community where a school, a classroom full of children, and a teacher existed.

Any effort to define the native teacher's role in the context of a specific cultural background was further constrained by the desire on the part of the students themselves to be prepared to teach not only in a rural Alaskan native community, but in any school in the country where an Alaskan teaching certificate could be parlayed as an acceptable license to teach. They did not want a second rate education. We resolved, therefore, that the best judges of what constitutes a native teacher would be the students we were about to train, so the most logical course of action was to obtain their assistance in the development of the program. In that way, we could help the students define their role as we went along. Maybe in the end then we would have some basis for determining whether a native could be a native and a teacher too. Consequently, what follows is as much the product of student thought and effort as it is that of the program staff.

How Do You Train "Native" Teachers?

With a few assumptions in hand to serve as guidelines, a limited conceptual framework within which to work, a vague direction in which to move, and a group of enthusiastic students to lead us, we ventured forth on our journey. Following a brief getting-acquainted and settling-in period in the field sites, all the students and staff came together for an intensive six-week orientation and work session. It was during this session that the essence of the program evolved.

The individuals from each field site, including the team leader, began to work together, gradually forming a closely knit working team in which the whole became more than the sum of its parts. Team members assisted each other in their work and openly exchanged ideas and opinions to their mutual benefit. Native and non-native students viewed each other as equals and began to explore their similarities and differences. Natives from different ethnic backgrounds within the State discovered they could learn much from each other. They learned how to communicate and understand each other's views through direct experience. Once established, this interaction process carried over on their return to the field sites. The native students learned how to cope with "the system" from the non-native students, who in turn learned how to cope with village life from the native students.

Following the return of the students to the field, we discovered that one of our earlier assumptions needed a broader interpretation: The native

community, as a remote but intensely personalized learning environment, was contributing to the low academic achievement rate of non-native students. The non-native students, who comprised one-fourth of the student population, were responsible for nearly one-half of the drop-outs during the first year. They were experiencing the same problems of adjustment to the native community that native students experienced coming on campus. But while this approach created some adjustment problems for the non-native students, it provided numerous advantages for the native students, and for the program as a whole. The delivery of the training to the rural native communities permitted the native students to control the effect of the learning experience by allowing them to encounter it on their own ground and on their own terms. With the help of fellow team members, including the team leader, the students approached their coursework as a cooperative enterprise. When a student had difficulties with a particular assignment, someone was close at hand to help him out. Also, the students did not feel threatened by the instructors (who were sometimes 1500 miles away) or a large classroom environment, so they did not hesitate to provide feedback to the instructors regarding the courses they were receiving. Instructors working with the program frequently commented on the high quality of work and degree of interest shown by the students in the coursework.

The most significant consequence of the field-centered approach was that it permitted the native students to maintain contact with their own community. Their relationships in the community were often strengthened and several students moved into leadership positions as they developed their abilities to understand and deal with community and school problems. Although the native students were developing many skills and ideas of non-native origin, they were learning and changing within the context of the community, so that no major discontinuity was experienced. Changes within the students and within the communities were continually blended through cohabitation, thus allowing for compatibility of interests and roles as the new life styles evolved.

The same process applied to the native students' experiences in the schools. They gradually worked their way into the classrooms and assumed a variety of roles, sometimes adapting to the situation, other times adapting the situation to themselves. In this way, each student was able to define and carve out his own role as a native teacher in the school and community.

Curriculum

So far I have focused my discussion on two particular structural elements of the training program, namely the team concept and the field-centered approach. What about the "curriculum?" What were the students doing, and what were they supposed to be learning during their stay in the program? In the development of the training design for the program, our concern was focused on the totality of the students' experience—not just the particular courses they would take. Thus, curriculum was viewed in its broadest sense, as encompassing context, process and content. In that sense, the team concept and field-centered approach were integral parts of the curriculum.

The **context** was the community, within which the school was viewed as one element in the total educational experience of each child. The students spent nearly all of the first year living, working and studying out in the community. The training program attempted to capitalize on the resources avail-

able to the students through activities that brought the students in direct contact with the realities they would face as teachers.

Within this context, the students learned through an experiential **process**—that is, they came to understand the world around them and their role in it through direct experience. They learned how a community operates by living in and studying their own community. They learned how a child grows by interacting with and observing real children. They learned how to teach by teaching. They learned how to learn, from each other as a team. Most importantly though, through this "confrontation with reality" process, they learned about themselves and how their lives are affected by and affect those around them, which sometimes necessitated a considerable reconstruction of the individual's view of "reality" and his role in it.

On top of all this, we had the curriculum **content**. This could be partially summarized by running down the course list on a student's transcript. But the course titles cannot adequately portray the learning experiences associated with each course, particularly those offered in the field. The field courses were drawn primarily from the social sciences, the humanities, and education, since these could be most easily adapted to, and capitalize on the field setting. So a course that appeared on the transcript as "Anthropological Field Methods" included, inherent within the course activities, a variety of concomitant learning experiences not necessarily represented in the course outline. For example:

1. The students prepared a detailed map and household directory showing all the buildings in their respective communities and listing the residents by age and level of schooling. This brought them in contact with everyone in the community through a purposeful activity, and resulted in a document that was useful to many people in the school and community, not to mention the specific field method skills the students acquired in the process. This activity placed emphasis on the participant-observer's role, with the native and non-native students sharing their observations from an "insider" and "outsider" perspective. Each activity was preceded by background reading and discussion, and followed by analysis and write-up.
2. The students prepared and conducted open-ended and structured interviews, focusing the questions on an education-related issue that was of immediate concern to themselves or to some element of the school or community. In this way they provided a useful service while gaining experience in interviewing techniques.
3. The students constructed and administered a questionnaire to a sampling of students, teachers, and parents, obtaining information regarding their attitudes on certain school-related issues. They compiled and analyzed the data, and made comparisons to determine the similarities and differences in the three sets of responses. In addition to learning about sampling, and the strengths and weaknesses of questionnaires as a data-gathering technique, they stimulated a lot of discussion in the community regarding the issues and were able to better understand some

of the problems they would face as teachers.

4. Each student selected an informant from the community and prepared a "life history," focusing attention on the educational development of the individual. This activity stimulated dialogue between the students and other members of the community, and gave the students some perspective on the processes of cultural transmission, culture change, and acculturation, all of which are highly significant processes for teachers to understand in contemporary Alaska.
5. The students at each site were provided with film, cameras, and a complete set of darkroom equipment, and trained in the use of photography as a research technique. Each team prepared a photo essay of their community, including a photographic overview, incidents of social interaction, a survey of the technology evident in the community, and a pictorial summary of their own activities as a team. These albums were then brought to the campus during the summer and shared with their fellow students from other teams. This enlarged their perspective on the diversity of cultures and environments existent within their own State.
6. Finally, all of the above information, along with a variety of additional data, was compiled and reported in the form of a community study. The information contained in these reports was of subsequent use to the students, and in several cases, accomplished useful purposes for others. For example, the household directory compiled by the students in one community was instrumental in convincing the U.S. Census Bureau that they had made a 40% error in the official 1970 census conducted the same year. In a community of 500 actual population, an error of this magnitude can result in a drastic misappropriation of critical funds and services that are allocated on a per capita basis. Such results can stimulate a great deal of motivation and interest on the part of the community as well as the students.

I do not wish to imply that all courses were as able to capitalize on the resources of the field setting as the one I have described. Indeed, many courses were simply re-runs of the same courses as taught on campus. To the extent, however, that the instructors were familiar with the field setting and able to adapt their course to that setting, they usually did so.

The conceptual and methodological framework embodied in the curriculum and program design drew heavily on the social sciences, in particular, anthropology. While this may be, in part, a reflection of the educational background of those of us responsible for the academic component of the program, it did not occur without purpose or reasoning. If the students were to eventually overcome the ethnocentric confines of the existing educational system, and see beyond the usual narrow definition of concepts such as "schooling" and "teaching," they would have to develop a perspective that transcends cultural boundaries and provides a holistic and adaptive frame-

work for assessing needs and resolving problems. For that perspective we looked to the content and methods of the social sciences. We employed the concept of culture in its many and varied manifestations, as a means to help the students better understand and assess the needs of the children they were preparing to teach. We used the methods of anthropology to guide us in the development and implementation of the program design. As the program evolved, we gradually developed a separate undergraduate curriculum with an interdisciplinary focus on cross-cultural education, which has since been incorporated into the university's degree offerings.

What Have We Learned?

Since the program was intended to be experimental in nature, we have taken advantage of the rare opportunity to do a lot of experimenting. The whole program has, in effect, been an experiment in the techniques of survival in a bureaucratic society. We have experimented with alternative models in teacher education. We have experimented with different approaches to the delivery of academic coursework. We have experimented with a variety of conceptual frameworks for viewing the process of education. And we have experimented with people's lives, to the extent that we have ventured forth with them into the unknown.

By 1974 we had completed a four-year cycle of the program and forty-two of the original sixty students had graduated, so we took stock of our experience and revised the program to expand on its strengths and reduce its weaknesses. We changed the team leader role from a certificated teacher to that of a university faculty member who remained in the field, but whose responsibilities were expanded to encompass a region rather than a single community. In this way the instructors could become more familiar with student needs, and more students could have access to the program.

We also expanded the curriculum beyond the elementary teaching emphasis to include the preparation of bilingual teachers and teachers for small rural high schools, and the development of a non-teaching degree emphasis in "human resource development" to prepare persons for the educational development roles in the new regional and village corporations (see Gattiev, this publication). Since the program's efforts were expanded beyond the preservice training of teachers, the program name was changed from ARTTC to the Cross-cultural Education Development Program (or X-CED), reflecting the broader application and focus of concern. In addition, a Masters program in cross-cultural education has been developed and is now available through the same field delivery system established for the undergraduate program.

So what have we learned from it all? In effect, we have learned most of what I have presented above. Although we had some vague notions about what we wanted to do in the beginning, we had no detailed, premeditated plan or preconceived model from which to work. Since we were unable to obtain an acceptable training model elsewhere, and we did not want to force the students into a potentially inappropriate model of our own making, we decided to use a process approach and let the program evolve. What I have described above as the program is what we have learned and accomplished through a process of evolution.

We also have learned that the single most important characteristic that program personnel must possess, if such an approach is to succeed, is

a high tolerance for ambiguity. Many persons find it difficult to cope with uncertainty and to proceed with little more than intuition and instinct as guides. They seek structure or closure on a matter prematurely, thus reducing the opportunity for flexibility and adaptability. Under contemporary pressures for accountability and related demands for the delineation of specific objectives and the development of flow charts in pursuit of explicit end products, it is indeed difficult to survive on a creed that declares, "We will know where we are going when we get there." So far, we have learned enough about what we are doing and where we are going in time to satisfy our own needs for direction and to meet the challenges of each step along the way. If we had tried to anticipate in the beginning all that we know now, we would have been overwhelmed and given up long ago.

We have learned many other things since we started our journey that have implications for what we are trying to do. Since some of these are still vague and undocumented notions, and others are fundamental questions that may not be resolvable, I will present a few of them in brief, summary form here, as points of departure for future discussion.

We have learned that it is difficult to be a native and a teacher too. Many aspects of the two positions are incompatible and the demands of the role are enormous. On the one hand, as a native, the native teacher is expected to represent the community's interest in the school. On the other hand, as a teacher, he is expected to represent the school's interest in the community. Until the function and format of the school is compatible with the needs and cultural milieu of the community, however, compromise is inevitable for the native teacher. In addition, the adaptation is usually in the direction of the school, for it is difficult to significantly change the role of the teacher in the context of a conventional school environment. So the native teacher faces a Catch 22—the more effective he is as a teacher, the less effective he may become as a native, and vice versa. Our concern then, is that placing native teachers in the schools may not significantly improve the education of native children, if the design of the institution itself does not change. But who is to change it, and in what direction? (See Barnhardt, this publication.)

We have learned that our program may not really be training "teachers" after all. Six months into their first year of teaching, we brought the first group of graduates back together at a meeting to find out how they were doing in their hard-won profession. They related a variety of concerns, particularly in reference to the day-to-day routine of teaching. They did not feel satisfied with such everyday teaching responsibilities as lesson planning and classroom management. The concensus of the group was that they were frustrated as teachers in the schools, because they had been prepared as "educators." They felt more like general practitioners than specialists. Consequently, many of them left the schools and took up practice in other types of educational programs. Our tendency, at this point, is to view this outcome more as a success than as a failure.

We have learned that the literature in education, as well as anthropology, is often of limited use in our program. Almost all of the literature normally used to help prepare teachers for work with cultural minorities assumes that the teacher will be from outside the culture. From the native students' point of view, the literature is "culturally deprived." While such issues as "familiarity with the cultural background of the children," or

"ability to communicate effectively," are major issues in the "outsider" context, they become secondary to the native teacher. In most of the literature, the natives usually find themselves as the objects of study. In an effort to break down some of the stereotypes embodied in the anthropological literature, we have focused our studies on groups and institutions in Western society. So now the native students are taking on the role of anthropologist and studying the primitive society of the school. They compensate for the lack of appropriate literature by generating their own.

We have also learned that the training of educators, native or non-native, requires more than the inclusion of a few anthropology courses in the teacher training curriculum. Such a limited focus runs the risk of putting just enough information in teachers' hands to make them dangerous, even when well-intentioned (see Kleinfeld, this publication). The development of a cross-cultural perspective in education requires that the person being trained have extensive guided field experience in which the methods and concepts provided in the training are blended with actual working experience. Only after having coped with the uncertainty and confusion engendered in a cross-cultural experience, can a person fully internalize a perspective which transcends cultural boundaries, and only when such a perspective is fully internalized can the person use it productively.

For most native students, cross-cultural experience is implicit in the daily life of the individual. Engaging in academic training, itself, contributes to that cross-cultural experience. The problem, then, is one of identifying and understanding the forces shaping that experience, and developing the capability to deal with it more objectively. By examining and analyzing the confluence of external and locally derived experiences through close and sometimes intense personal interaction with non-native team members within the community context, the native student is able to inductively build and gradually internalize a "transcultural perspective," while at the same time retaining his own cultural integrity.

For the non-native (or native) student without previous cross-cultural experience, the process of internalizing a "transcultural perspective" appears to be more difficult, consisting of three identifiable stages, and of at least one year duration. The three stages may be generally classified as (1) enamorment, (2) antipathy, and (3) transcendence. In the first stage the new experiences are all exciting and different. New insights are spawned, the causes of problems are easily identified, and hope for the future abounds. Then reality sets in, and we are in stage two. The problems are not as simply formulated as they first appeared, and the solutions become even more evasive. Human relationships become increasingly complex and difficult to manage. Basic value orientations are called into question. Disenchantment reaches the point of anger and frustration. Careful guidance is necessary at this point to prevent the onset of avoidance behavior, or complete rejection of the experience. Failure to go beyond stage two will result in bitterness and an aversion to cross-cultural issues which is often manifested in a regressive attitude implying "I have been there and it didn't work." Careful planning and support must be provided to insure that the persons being trained are given the opportunity to reconstruct their view of reality and basic value system within the context of a transcending conceptual framework. Once they have achieved such a reorientation, they have begun to internalize the cross-cultural experience.

Finally, we have learned that the processes by which education takes place are often more important than the content that is being transmitted. The field-based nature of the program appears to be more influential in the students' development than the material being presented in the courses. The graduates are frustrated as teachers, in part, because their field experiences, while progressing through the conventional teacher training curriculum, exposed them to educational processes beyond the school. Those experiences are reflected in the behavior of graduates who are striving to develop comparable field experiences and approaches in their work as "educators." If the adage, "You teach as you are taught" is correct (and we believe it is), then our task as a program staff is to provide a model whereby the processes through which we train teachers will also be applicable to the education of children in the communities. Though we continue to strive for more appropriate and useful content in the academic coursework, the process through which the content is presented remains our primary focus of concern.

Another dimension of the field-delivery process that has been critical to the implementation of this approach is the nature of staff/student relationships. The closer the personal relationship between staff and student, the more effective and productive the learning experiences have been, and there is a big difference between "personalizing" and "individualizing" those experiences. Using course completion as an indicator, we have had very little success with canned correspondence and strict competency-based courses. Although such courses were usually mechanically efficient and flexible in terms of alternative routes and timelines for completion, if the instructor did not provide personalized attention to each student's needs, the courses were generally neglected and ineffective. Education is not an efficient process, and attempts to make it so can often undermine the purpose for which it is intended—the medium becomes the message.

The most successful courses have been those in which the instructor has been aware of the students' needs and has devoted considerable time and effort to take interest in, and personally address issues, problems, and concerns raised by each individual student. Though this may seem obvious, it is often difficult to achieve because instructors rarely meet students face-to-face and are not able to convey ideas, feelings, and impressions in the usual manner to which they are accustomed. A personal note on an assignment becomes much more significant under these conditions than in a campus context, so instructors must reorient their perception of students. Since effective teaching under these conditions can be extremely demanding and time consuming, we have sought to limit the size of the program and the number of students, and thus provide an opportunity for strong staff/student relationships to develop. Without such relationships, though some students might be coaxed through a limited number of courses, few will complete a four-year degree program. And while, for some purposes a few courses may be sufficient, the long range educational needs of rural Alaska call for fully degreed and credentialed native persons who can begin to assume professional responsibility for, and control of, the programs serving their people. We, therefore, have attempted to develop a program oriented to the needs of students working toward a four-year degree. To offer less would only perpetuate the second class status to which native people are often relegated in schools today.

These are only highlights of what we have done and have learned over the past few years. We intend to continue learning, from our successes as well as our failures, because only through continued exploration of alternatives can we build upon our experiences and push back the frontiers of our understanding. Hopefully, then, the education of the children of tomorrow will benefit from our experiences today.

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PART IV

TEACHING/LEARNING ISSUES

It was not a caprice of the moment when Jesus admonished his own followers to "pray in this way: . . . lead us not into temptation." rather than "help us to overcome temptation when we encounter it." Very simply, preventive tactics constitute a pragmatically superior strategy to formulating responses in the face of crisis. So those of us who are seriously concerned with the problem of constraining cultural bias in cross-cultural encounters will want to focus our efforts more on causes than effects, and attack the problem in the formative stages—we will want to develop preventive measures that will preclude the problem's ever taking shape.

—Bill Vaudrin

The following articles focus on the cross-cultural classroom, where many of the students from small villages first encounter "Western society." The problems inherent in this encounter are still a long way from being resolved, but the developing awareness and sensitivity reflected in these articles indicates that progress is being made. The greater participation of Native people in the schooling process, and the adaptability of new programs and teaching approaches has the potential of reducing the negative consequences of schooling and enhancing some of the positive consequences. The extent to which this occurs depends to a large extent on the ability of educators to establish a learning environment that is accommodated to the unique attributes of the learner, rather than requiring the learner to always accomodate to the schooling environment. As these articles indicate, this is a complex task with sometimes subtle and unanticipated ingredients. Cultural biases, whether in the individual or the institution, are not always obvious, and even when they are, they can be deep-seated and difficult to overcome. The greater our awareness of the manifestations and consequences of our biases, however, the more able we are to deal with them. To this end, these articles are directed.

POSITIVE STEREOTYPING: THE CULTURAL RELATIVIST IN THE CLASSROOM

by

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(Ed. note: Reproduced by permission of the author from *Human Organization* 34:269-74, 1975.)

The Ethnocentric Teacher has been tried and convicted for causing severe damage to Indian children. As many anthropologists have testified, these teachers with their disapproval of Indian parents' "permissiveness," their shock at adolescents' "promiscuity," and their scorn for children who are "noncompetitive," undermine Indian students' sense of worth. Viewing their educational mission as "imprinting the American ideal" on Indian students, these ethnocentric teachers find themselves confronted with class after class of silent, resistant students who "just do not want to conform to the American way."[1]

The ethnocentric teacher can still be found in the cross-cultural classroom. However, my own research[2] on the effects of different teaching styles with Indian and Eskimo students suggests that he or she is becoming a rarer specimen. By and large these are older teachers who were socialized in the "cultural deprivation" traditions of ten or so years ago. At that time, the theoretical paradigm which the teachers learned in professional training was that minority group children did badly in school because deficits in their home background resulted in inferior intellectual, language, and social skills. According to this theory, the schools could produce school success for minority group children by providing in the classroom the educational experiences that the home had not provided. This "cultural deprivation" paradigm dominated educational research and led to numerous program efforts in the "compensatory education" framework.

A dramatic change, however, has occurred in educational programs for minority groups. The pejorative appellation, "culturally deprived," has given way, thankfully, to the term "culturally different." Cultural heritage programs have replaced compensatory education programs, and a new type of teacher is emerging in the cross-cultural classroom. In his orientation to Indian students, he could be named the "cultural relativist."

This teacher poses perhaps a more insidious danger to Indian students than the ethnocentric teacher because in some ways he embodies reforms long recommended in Indian education. He tends to be young and has entered Indian education from partly altruistic motives. He is usually well traveled and well educated. He has read and been strongly influenced by the anthropological literature on culture and education. Indeed, this research is often his primary source of knowledge about Indian students. As one said:

> Having had no previous experience working with Eskimos or Indians, and a notice of my position that was so short there was no time for preparation, I was completely new to this situation. I was well aware of the difficulties this could make and I came with an intense desire to do my best and make a

> success at working with Native students. As soon as possible after being notified of my position, I began studying Native culture and reading everything I could to make myself informed relative to working with them.

This teacher has great admiration for Indian culture, at least in its aboriginal form, and is eager to learn more about it from his students. In his classes, he tries to introduce as much culturally relevant material as he can find. Disapproving of past educational pressures toward acculturation, he urges his own Indian students to retain their culture. This teacher is acutely aware of his own cultural biases and wary of imposing any of his own values on Indian students. Yet, the cultural relativist often finds himself confronted with Indian students as silent and unresponsive to his teaching as they are in the classes of his opposite, the ethnocentric teacher.

A close examination of teacher-student interaction in the cultural relativist's classroom suggests a few of the bases for Indian students' unresponsiveness. These teachers' emphasis on differences between Indians and Whites often creates unease among Indian students and reinforces their fears of being peculiar and strange. While the following dialogue was stimulated by my research, which involved videotaping of classrooms, it provides an example only somewhat more extreme than usual of messages frequently transmitted in the cultural relativist's classroom.

> The cameraman joked with the students as he panned the room, "OK, say cheese." To this, the teacher added nervously: "You are assimilated into Whiteman's culture. You know you are supposed to smile when he says cheese." The students giggled apprehensively. "Why is he taking a picture of this class?" There was no further response except more nervous giggling. "Do you think if this were a White class he'd be here?" the teacher asked.

The cultural relativist celebrates Indian culture, but the culture celebrated is too often a romanticized version of aboriginal life with which contemporary Indian students actually have had little association. Indeed, some of these presentations, where, for example, the teacher expounds at length on the technological virtues of a bone fishhook, embarrass Indian students. While overtly praising Indian culture, this teacher's subtler messages are often patronizing and demeaning:

> The teacher was reading Indian poetry (written in pidgin English with many grammatical errors) to the class. "Now this poem shows many of the things we've talked about," the teacher summed up. "We've commented on how most of the Native people aren't aggressive, nowhere nearly as much as White people. The idea of a competition and bragging and boasting are alien to them, and so we think of them as very quiet and shy and insecure."

The fact that Indian students in this type of teacher's class often turn out to be indeed quiet, shy, and insecure raises the question of what effects the teacher's stereotyped cultural role expectations may be having on Indian students. Teacher expectations can be powerful determinants of student behavior (Rosenthal, 1966; Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968). The cultural relativist teacher may well be socializing Indian students into stereotypes—albeit in the teacher's view positive ones—that his readings in

Indian culture and model personality have led him to expect.

Another serious problem is that Indian students' instruction suffers because these teachers often use students to advance their own anthropological interests. Assignments too often consist of asking the Indian student merely to describe his home village or his feelings about school or city life. When such students reach college their professors have pointed out, "The kids have a lot of experience writing about their feelings. Their essays are very touching. But they have had no practice in analysis and synthesis."

Always cognizant of Indian students' different background, these teachers tend to place them in a special category where they are exempt from academic and other standards applicable to other students. In mixed classrooms, White students resent the easier assignments, tests, and grading system used exclusively for the Indians. They often take it upon themselves to redress the inequity by a little reverse social discrimination of their own. Moreover, not only does the cultural relativist's special treatment arouse animosity in White peers; but overly individualized treatment gives Indian students no sense of meaningful standards toward which to direct their efforts.

> After class, an Indian girl came up to the teacher and told her that she had been sick and had missed the last test. "What should I study for it?" she asked. "Don't worry," the teacher replied, "I'll make up a special test for you and you'll do well on it." "But I don't know what to study," the girl persisted. "Don't worry," repeated the teacher, "I'll make it special for you. You'll do well."

The cultural relativist teachers tend to view any deviant behavior of an Indian or Eskimo student as an expression of his culture which they should be very hesitant about trying to change. Believing their own values to be "culturally biased," the teachers have no notion of what standards, if any, they should apply to Indian students. The absurd lengths to which this viewpoint leads and the harm that can be done children in the process is illustrated in the following teacher's analysis of an Eskimo child's behavior in her classroom:

> A family has just moved to town from a village where everything is shared. There is no emphasis placed on ownership. Everything is community property. The child enrolls in the urban elementary school. Possessions of others begin to disappear from desks, lockers, teachers' desks, etc. Library books are seldom returned—they are passed on to others in the family and to friends. Items belonging to the peer group are found in the child's desk. Her peers complain loudly that "she is a thief—she steals." The child has difficulty comprehending this. Socially, the child is now an outcast, and from then on, when one of her peers misplaces something, the Native child is immediately blamed, whether or not she has taken the item.

Oblivious to the fact that the other Eskimo children in her class were not expressing their traditional sharing values in quite this way, the teacher doubted that she should try to "change the child's culture" and "get her into the mainstream of White society" by discouraging her from stealing.

These teachers' concern about cultural differences results in a per-

vasive anxiety and uncertainty in dealing with students. Their approach is inevitably hesitant, tentative, worried. Such anxious handling in turn increases the Indian students' nervousness in the classroom. As Erickson (1959:13) has pointed out, more important to the development of a healthy personality in children than a few isolated negative acts is the ability of adults to "represent to the child a deep, almost somatic conviction that there is meaning to what they are doing." These teachers may avoid at least overtly destructive actions toward Indian children. But, disturbed over the legitimacy of their teaching, the cultural relativist teachers cannot transmit to Indian students an underlying sense of meaning or of purpose in what they are teaching. Because they themselves lack confidence, these teachers cannot give Indian students confidence that they are learning things of value which will enable them to become competent adults.

Cultural relativist teachers often view Indian students as cultural abstractions. They see Indian students more as pasteboard representations of aboriginal culture than as children and adolescents, concerned in many ways with the common problems of living and growing up—finding friends, dealing with sexual impulses, looking attractive. Thus, the teachers make little attempt to identify or to empathize, to understand their Indian students' problems through recalling similar problems of their own. It is as if the teachers had decided that "You are Indian and I am White, and there is nothing about us that is alike." Indeed, in some instances these teachers made progress in developing the rapport essential to successful teaching when they finally said in exasperation, "I don't go along with this culture business. He acts just like my kid brother!"

In short, the new breed of teacher emerging in the cross-cultural classroom is as "racist" (in the dictionary definition of the word) as the older type. Both the ethnocentric teacher and the cultural relativist teacher assume that social traits and capacities are determined by race, that races differ radically from one another, and that one race is superior. But, while the ethnocentric teacher views such racial differences as deficiencies to be corrected, the cultural relativist views them as assets to be cultivated. Implicit in his view is the tired theme of the "noble savage" who, in the Indian context, is defined by superior cooperativeness, equalitarianism, and concern for others. Positive racial stereotypes, in short, have replaced negative ones. How has this reversal come about? Why is the cultural relativist replacing the ethnocentric teacher in the classroom?

There are many different causes and many different levels of explanation. The change to this new type of teacher has resulted from the general change in the climate of ideas in the 1960s when the old melting pot and equal treatment ideology gave way to the rise of ethnic consciousness and the linkage of economic and political power to ethnic group status. The failure of the compensatory education approach and the search for new educational directions are also important to this change.

The most direct source of the attitudes that spawn the cultural relativist teaching style, however, are the concepts of anthropology which professors present to teachers in university training and in anthropology and education publications. While the portrait drawn here is the "ideal type," these teachers quite often uphold numerous avant-garde educational notions they have come across in their professional socializations, a potpourri unified by little more than academic fashion.

Anthropologists may be surprised, indeed flattered, by the deadly seriousness with which teachers seem to apply their ideas in the classroom. But exactly what ideas are they applying? It is not the case, as Keynes has said, that men's minds are ruled by the ideas of "some academic scribbler of a few years back" (1935:383). Rather, as a later scholar noted, men's minds are ruled by the vulgarization of these ideas. It is vulgarized concepts of anthropology that teachers are applying in their classrooms.

One of these concepts is the notion that traditional cultural attitudes and values influence Indian students' current behavior. Teachers commit the logical fallacy of equating the proposition, "traditional culture is expressed in Indian students' current behavior," with the proposition, "Indian students' current behavior is an expression of traditional culture." The fallacy is the same in kind as reasoning that because all redheads are human beings, then all human beings are redheads. The first proposition is true but the second false because both redheads and traditionally based current behavior are subsets of a larger class. Teachers slip into this fallacy both because of the emphasis placed on traditional culture in anthropology and education courses and because of the primacy given in the discipline of anthropology to traditional culture as the key explanatory variable.

The second anthropological concept causing problems in the classroom arises out of the cultural relativist school of thought that cultural differences should be understood in context and respected. While cultural relativism has been an important corrective to the ethnocentrism of the past, teachers often vulgarize this viewpoint to mean that no standards they hold can be applied to Indian children. This misinterpretation occurs, first, because teachers are unaware of the arguments anthropologists have advanced against extreme versions of the cultural relativist position. Second, teachers are unaware that in many important areas cultural values and standards are held in common. As a discipline, anthropology emphasizes differences between cultures because such differences provide explanations, enable tests of theories, and are interesting. But emphasis on interesting cultural differences draws attention away from the many areas of agreement across cultures. When the disciplinary emphasis on cultural differences is combined with the ideology of cultural relativism, teachers see serious ethical problems in applying their own standards to Indian children even where in actuality no difference in standards exists.

What could anthropologists do about such problems? One useful approach might be to deal directly with these issues in courses and publications directed toward teachers. When I have brought up these concerns in my own courses, teachers have been greatly relieved at the notion that there are areas of cultural similarity which legitimize making certain academic demands on Indian students. Upon applying this viewpoint in their classrooms, teachers have reported favorable results:

> When it became apparent that the four Natives would dutifully bring the body to class, warm the seat, but leave the brain outside the window or somewhere else, I decided to use some thoughts presented in the course on understanding the Native. Particularly, I began to concentrate on the statement that Natives are no different from other students (note this teacher's vulgarization of the idea I had presented in class, that there are areas of similarity and areas of difference),

> that demands must be made upon them, that they should not be treated as exceptional. Instead of using the don't-ruffle-the-feathers, he-is-a-Native theory, I began to insist on written work from them. The results are rewarding . . . Janet has returned to her old smiling self.

Another possibility for avoiding the cultural relativist teacher problem is to place more emphasis on the "situational" approach to cultural differences being used in the areas of cross-cultural cognition and language (Cole and Scribner, 1974; Phillips, 1972). The situational approach emphasizes not cultural differences in themselves but rather the specific situational factors that lead to specific types of cultural response. Why, for example, are Indian students talkative in certain situations, like the playground, but silent in other situations, like the classroom? What types of situations encourage or impede verbal communication by Indian children? Teachers could use this type of information to structure their classroom situations in positive ways.

As currently applied in anthropology, however, the situational perspective still suffers from the defect of too exclusive a focus on traditional cultural patterns as the sole basis of responses to different situations. Recognizing that Indian students' responses to a situation stem from other factors as well might be a more useful approach to the solution of Indian students' actual classroom problems. An example of this kind of overfocusing on traditional culture as the key explanatory variable came up in my own fieldwork. I was accompanying a home-school coordinator who was counseling an 18-year-old Eskimo student who wanted to move out of his boarding home. The young man was upset about the strange behavior of his Eskimo boarding home mother, whom the home-school counselor knew quite well. The boarding home mother had recently migrated to a socially disorganized, White-dominated regional town from a relatively stable, traditional village. According to the student, the woman was always nervous and upset and scolded him and her husband for no reason. She didn't take care of the house and was always buying things she didn't need. While I was pondering the sociocultural consequences of migration, the home-school counselor placed her hand on the student's knee and said, ' Oscar, have you ever heard of menopause?" As Harry Stack Sullivan has pointed out, "We are all more human than anything else."

While these kinds of correctives may help, I have begun to think there may be a more fundamental problem in applying concepts of anthropology in the classroom. This problem may lie in the inadequacies of the concepts themselves, in the general focus on cultural differences as the explanation for minority group children's problems in school. Dissatisfaction with these concepts is becoming increasingly evident in anthropology and education. As Lanni and Storey (1973:x-xi) point out:

> School children who are "culturally different" on the other hand, are not in every case best understood as alien, as being so different as to be more remnants of obscure tribal histories than as American citizens, or as mysteries only an anthropologist can fathom.

Anthropologists are searching for new ways of analyzing educational situations which do not necessarily involve the concept of cultural differences. Gearing's (1973) effort to develop a general theory of cultural transmission is an example of such an attempt.

The present state of affairs in anthropology and education may be an instance of Kuhn's (1962) notion of the failure of a scientific "paradigm." The paradigm refers to the underlying set of assumptions and concepts that define the research problem, the conceptual tools which may be used to solve it, and the acceptable standards of solution. Kuhn suggests that a crisis occurs in a scientific community when the paradigm that has guided past research is found inadequate. Such a crisis is signalled by a sense of dissatisfaction in the scientific community and by different attempts to come up with a fundamental reconceptualization that opens up and changes the field.

Perhaps the field of anthropology and education needs a new analytic paradigm, a paradigm that generates fresh problems, different methods, and useful solutions to the educational problems of minority group children. Until such a paradigm emerges, however, anthropologists should be aware of the harm done children by vulgarized versions of the old one. Theories about cultural differences may merely be replacing theories about cultural deprivation as an excuse for teaching failure.

FOOTNOTES

1. This quotation, as well as other teacher statements quoted in this paper, was written by teachers in an in-service training course in Alaska. Teachers were asked to describe a problem in their classrooms involving Indian or Eskimo students, their methods of solving it, and the results.
2. This research, from which some data have been drawn from the present paper, is report in J. S. Kleinfeld (1975). The methodology consisted primarily of observation and interviews of approximately 40 teachers of academic subjects in two all-Native boarding schools and five integrated urban high schools during the 1970-71 school year. The major criteria of teaching effectiveness were (1) whether Indian and Eskimo students verbally participated in class, and (2) the cognitive level of their verbal comments. The rationale for the choice of this measure and a description of supplementary experiments designed to test propositions developed in this research may be found in the SCHOOL REVIEW article.

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TEXTBOOK REVIEW: CRITERIA FOR ALASKAN CLASSROOM TEACHERS

by

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"Our texts place a heavy load on any child who cannot identify with the white ethnocentric point of view. When children feel that their forebearers didn't count in molding the past, they feel that they have little chance to shape the future. It is the responsibility of textbooks and other teaching materials to make all children feel their true importance."

Foundation for Change
"Guide to Racism Rating"
Testing Texts for Racism

Introduction

Any Alaskan classroom teacher who agrees with the quotation on the preceding page is probably aware of the need for standards or **criteria** to aid her/him in the development and selection of instructional materials. The first textbook review committees were born during the 1960's Civil Rights movements, but many such committees also exist today, functioning in advisory (most prevalent) or policy-making (less frequent) capacity in co-operation with local school boards, Indian Education Act programs, and special interest groups advocating the needs and interests of minority students. Organizations such as the Foundation for Change, Inc. and The Council on Interracial Books for Children have undertaken the task of disseminating guidelines for textbook and supplemental reading evaluation. The National Council of Teachers of English and other national educational conferences have addressed the problems of racism and bias in the teaching of English and the content areas. In a special gesture, the State of Montana amended its constitution in order to recognize "the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indians" and to commit "in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity."[1]

Where does this widespread professional interest in textbook review leave the Alaskan classroom teacher? Probably back where she/he started—anxious to examine her/his own materials for accuracy and honesty, but unsure of how to proceed. Despite national awareness of the need for textbook evaluation, teachers typically receive no coursework or training in review as part of their undergraduate programs in education.[2] Ethnic studies and curriculum development projects occasionally address the problem, but it is rare for local school boards to undertake the difficult task of textbook review before being coaxed to do so by minority parents and teachers.[3] Consequently, the classroom teacher who is seriously interested in materials evaluation may encounter a school board that is unable or unwilling to help her/him. In addition, the parents of the students will most likely hold diverse attitudes about the need for standards in textbooks and about what the standards should be.

The information in this report is designed to be read, modified where necessary, and applied by Alaskan classroom teachers in all subject areas and grade levels who want their students to "feel their true importance."[4]

Which Materials Should be Evaluated?

Most teachers would probably agree that evaluating **all** of the materials they use in their classrooms would be a time-consuming, perhaps endless, task. However, continuous materials review should be built into each school day, and teachers will certainly want to work along with students, school personnel, and parents for effective, efficient review.

Generally speaking, any instructional or supplemental (enrichment) material which will be made available to students needs to be thoroughly examined by their teacher. Books, newspapers, magazines, other periodicals, films, filmstrips, slides, tapes, records, workbooks, programmed learning packages, games, and activity kits deserve equivalent examination and review procedures. Social studies materials and all kinds of literature frequently attract the attention of textbook review committees, particularly because of inaccurate portrayal of the contribution of Black and Native Americans. In Alaska, materials which depict the traditional and modern lives of Alaska Natives (Eskimos, Aleuts, Athapaskans, Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimpsians) warrant special attention, and in any locale, teachers should scrutinize carefully the materials which describe the so-called minority and majority groups in the immediate area.

In an effort to limit its review project to a workable scope, the American Indian Historical Society's all-Indian organization of scholars and historians held a conference to establish criteria for the adoption of books in history and social sciences in 1965. This textbook correction program opened up the whole state of affairs concerning education ABOUT Native peoples; it is also blamed publishers, educational writers, and school administrators for failure to provide accurate classroom instructional materials. A direct result of the conference was the creation of an independent Indian publishing house, the Indian Historian Press, Inc.

By centering its efforts solely on textbooks, the American Indian Historical Society became the first organization to recognize "a difference between a book for general readership and one accepted for classroom use."[5] The Society maintained that books for "free reading" by the general readership need to provide the individual with choices, even if these choices include misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history. Students, on the other hand, are compelled to study from approved textbooks, and "in this case, we have a right to insist upon truth, accuracy, and objectivity."[6]

The following statement, summarizing the viewpoint of the American Indian Historical Society, is accepted by the majority of the textbook review committees surveyed by the Council on Interracial Books for Children. Nevertheless, a growing number of committees are extending their pre-screening authority to include supplemental and non-textbook instructional materials.

> We . . . believe everyone has the right to his opinion. A person also has the right to be wrong. But a textbook has no right to be wrong, or to lie, hide the truth, or falsify history, or insult and malign a whole race of people.7

What is "Racism," and Whom Does It Hurt?

According to "Definitions of Racism, A Contemporary Glossary" published by the Foundation for Change, **racism** is more powerful than racial prejudice, hatred, or discrimination. Any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of color can be racist—if the force required to carry out systematic discriminatory practices is present. In other words, "power + prejudice = racism."[8] There are various kinds of racism, too, such as institutional, individual, White, and paternalistic; and some people classify **sexism** as a subcategory of racism. Most important to the classroom teacher, racism in textbooks can be identified without long years of special training. An open mind and a thorough background in her/his subject area are the teacher's essential ingredients for useful textbook review.

Slurs and halftruths about non-White and other minority groups are often easier to spot than slights or omissions. Textbooks have given generations of American students the mistaken notion that nothing important happened in the "New World" until the continent was "discovered" by White Men. Most history books tell only the story of European occupation of North America from a one-sided point of view:

> . . . Native Americans (Indians) become important only when they block the path of expanding white domination; Mexican Americans (Chicanos) get attention only when Whites are ready to take over the Southwest; and Blacks make history only when they pose problems as slaves or modern-day militants.[9]

Alaska Natives are hardly mentioned at all, and this restricted view of history fosters the development of White ethnocentrism by assuming that a superior role for Whites is needed to fulfill America's destiny. While recent textbook revisions have corrected some glaring errors, teachers must search for books which treat minorities as a basic part of American history. "History through whose eyes?" is a question that social studies teachers should constantly ask of their books and their own classroom presentations. Teachers—and their students—should also be alert for stereotyped definitions which often appear in racist social studies books: Is a **primitive** any dark-skinned, half-naked person who utters strange sounds while a proud White male **discovers** the shore by planting his country's flag in the sand? Does **progress** for White people deny a **land of plenty** to Americans of other colors? Is the word **problem** used to describe whatever or whoever is troublesome to the Whites in power, and are the problem-makers usually poor, dissatisfied non-Whites?

Other loaded words such as **savage, conniving, lazy, treacherous, wily, inscrutable, docile, happy,** and **patient** may be used subtly to refer to minority persons, and students can even make a class project out of checking their texts to find out who gets most of the favorable and unfavorable adjectives.

The "bigger" the book, the more important a check of its index becomes. Does it include Blacks, American Indians, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Alaska Natives in their own right or only in relation to White society? Are minorities listed separately or only under such headings as "Slavery," "Migrant Workers," or "Wetbacks"? Teachers and students should also be aware that many publishers "pad" indexes: checking is necessary to be sure that each reference is a real one to the group in

question, rather than just a passing comment, map citation, or one-sentence footnote. Comparing the number of genuine index entries for all groups, including Whites, will give an indication of the book's balance—or lack of it.

Analyzing Books for Racism and Sexism

Racist and sexist books and other media distort perceptions until stereotypes and myths about minorities and women are presented as reality. It can be difficult for teachers to question society's attitudes and to encourage students to discuss racism and sexism in a book. However, **discrimination**, in the positive sense of the word, is an essential survival skill for modern children and adults; knowledge about and respect for the similarities and differences among human beings are values that develop slowly over the experiences of a child's lifetime, particularly her/his school experiences since many children do not see "different" people in their neighborhoods.

The following guidelines for detecting racist and sexist biases in children's materials are excerpted from the **Interracial Books for Children Bulletin**, vol. V, no. 3, 1974. Criteria for picturebooks, primers, and fiction are contained in Part I, with additional standards for school books and reference works outlined in Part II.

PART I: Children's Free-Reading Materials

1. **Check the illustrations** for stereotyped oversimplifications of particular groups, races, or sexes. Watch for pictures with characters that are demeaned or ridiculed because of race or sex. Be on the lookout for **tokenism**, non-White characters with White features on slightly tinted faces. Examine the lifestyles of minority characters and their settings (such as "dirty" houses) for unfavorable, yet unstated, bias. Are minorities always associated with ghettos or primitive village living? Or do stories which to attempt to depict other cultures go beyond generalizations and offer real insights into different lifestyles?

2. **Check the story line.**
   a. Relationships: Do Whites function in power- and decision-making roles while minorities serve in subservient positions?
   b. Standard for success: Do non-White characters have to exhibit superior qualities to succeed? Does the non-White in a friendship do most of the understanding and forgiving?
   c. Viewpoint: Are minority people considered "problems" where solutions ultimately depend upon White benevolence?
   d. Sexism: Are achievements of women and girls based on their initiative and intelligence rather than on their good looks or relationship with boys? Are sex roles incidental or paramount to characterization and plot: that is, could the same story be told if sex roles were reversed?

3. **Ponder the effects of the book on the self-image** and self-esteem of children; sometimes books establish overt or covert norms which limit children's aspirations and self-concept.

4. **Consider the author's and illustrator's credentials.** Read the book jacket and check the author's qualifications to deal with minority themes and other topics. Books ABOUT minorities and women but not written BY them

should be very closely examined—even if their stated purpose is to present the majority opinion. (NOTE: These observations do not preclude the ability of writers and illustrators to empathize with the experiences of people with different sexes and racial heritage, but the chances for honesty and authenticity are probably not as good.)

5. **Examine the copyright date.** Lots of hastily written books on minority themes appeared in the wake of the 1960's Civil Rights movements; many were composed by White authors and have obviously White viewpoints. The children's book world reflects only remotely the realities of a multicultural, multi-racial society, and "it has just begun to reflect feminists' concerns."[10] Of course, there is no guarantee that a book with a recent copyright date is relevant or sensitive. But books are usually written one to five years before they are published, and this time lag is important in the field of children's books, where awareness and conscious elimination of bias is increasing daily.

PART II: School Texts

6. **Determine the author's perspective.** There is no such thing as a truly objective account of anything; every story is told from some point of view. White, European male perspectives dominate certain content areas, and this has influenced the content and presentation of instructional material. Naturally, there is more likelihood that a textbook will reflect the contributions and values of a multi-ethnic society if minority authors help to produce it.

7. **Note the copyright date,** remembering that it takes much longer to produce a textbook than a story book. In addition, the **first** (or oldest) date given on the copyright page is the one you should notice; although publishers are occasionally willing to make necessary (and costly) revisions of older editions, "editing out" viewpoints which are pervasively racist or sexist is nearly impossible.

8. **Watch for loaded words,** especially those which "purr" at majority characters or persons and "snarl" at minorities. **Sexist language** encompasses adjectives that ridicule women and, in some cases, the use of the male pronoun to refer to both males and females. The generic use of the words "man," and "mankind" was once accepted, but its exclusive use today is usually interpreted as an indication of the writer's lack of awareness.

9. **Notice the heroes and heroines.** Textbooks, in particular, seem to limit themselves to "safe" minority heroes and heroines—those who avoided serious conflict with the White establishment of their times. Today minority groups are maintaining that they should define their own heroes and heroines, based on their cultural values and struggles for justice. Always double-check indexes to be sure that names cited therein are actually included in the text and treated in full rather than fleetingly or disparagingly.

Additional Criteria for Reading and Literature

By comparison with social studies materials, English and language arts materials might seem to contain insignificant amounts of racism and bias. In reality, it is through language arts materials that most students receive "images" as well as "information" about themselves and other persons, races, and cultures. It is essential that these educational materials foster in each student a sense of her/his personal dignity and an understanding of

the positive aspects of diversity in American society. In many areas, including a number of Alaskan villages, bilingual materials are the only answer for Native students, but conventional English courses and reading programs still need revision. Because many elementary, secondary, and college courses are organized around an anthology or basic text, the National Council of Teachers of English Task Force on Racism and Bias in the Teaching of English recommends the following criteria for materials in the language arts fields:

1. Literature anthologies to be used as basic texts and having inclusive titles and/or introductions (such as **American Literature, A Survey Course**) must be balanced (reflecting diversity of style, subject matter, and social and cultural view) and fair (more than tokenly representative of all groups). In other words, works by non-Whites must be included, in substantial numbers, to avoid the implication that members of these groups are less worthy or significant than White American writers.

2. Hostile or sentimental depictions of non-White groups must be balanced with realistic ones.

3. In collections where any writer is represented by only one selection, the basis for its inclusion must be made clear.

4. When a dialect of English appears, it must not be exaggerated or inconsistent, but appropriate to the setting and the character (for fiction). Non-fictional materials written in dialects of English need not be ignored; however, they must be presented accurately with appropriate attention paid to the writer's purpose, audience, and subject. Representations of the speech of bilingual Americans should not be suggestive of cultural insensitivity.

5. Editorial and critical commentary must depict in full the role played by non-White writers in continuing literary development, and literary criticism must draw as heavily as possible from the critical writings of non-Whites.

6. Historical commentary and interpretations must not present idealized or otherwise distorted pictures of social and political history out of which Americans have written and are writing.

Specific Criteria for Children's Literature

"Literature is what learning to read is all about!"

"Children's literature makes a definite contribution toward creative development in boys and girls . . . ."

"True literature stimulates the imagination . . . ."

These quotations from James A. Smith's **Adventures in Communication**[11] describe the place of literature in the education of children. Good children's literature possesses the following characteristics:

IT CAN

1. stimulate children to write for themselves.
2. provide a means of therapy for troubled children.
3. help build skills in expression, defining, and elaboration.
4. help build a colorful vocabulary.
5. become the basis of constructive daydreaming and problem identification.
6. make children more discreet in passing judgments and

making choices, especially in diction (choice of words).
7. be a source of creative stimulation.
8. develop sensitivity to places, sights, sounds, words, lifestyles, and people.
9. help children build values or standards for creative writing.

Good books should be read, shared, and enjoyed rather than just taught. With the teacher functioning as intermediary between author and audience, the children develop their tastes in reading for pleasure. "Social studies books reach the minds of children, but literature reaches their hearts."[12] According to James A. Smith, good literature recaptures the mood of life and transplants the reader to another time or place. Empathy and projection are developed through good literature, and therefore, literature can be used to complement social studies lessons by providing a "feeling" for a different way of life in addition to the facts about a country or people.

Books read aloud to children must be particularly relevant:

1. The story should be meaningful to the children and their situation.
2. It should have a fresh, moving plot or deal with an exciting event.
3. The story should have uniqueness.
4. Plausible, direct conversation should tell much of the story.
5. The characters should be fully developed.
6. The outcome(s) of the story should appear authentic and believable.[13]

Honest sentiment, moral values, understanding of children's abilities, and meaning which continues after the story itself is forgotten are other characteristics of good children's literature.

Books surveys developed to assist teachers in planning reading programs at various grade levels are useful if they serve as broad guidelines rather than as total programs or policies. Children do tend to have specific interests at different ages, although preferences may vary greatly among individuals and certain groups. Generally speaking, young children like single-plot stories with predictable outcomes, direct conversation, natural climaxes, and single boy heroes or girl heroines. Illustrations are also very important. Older children may develop interests in specific animals, folk literature, historical fiction, biographies, and stories built around a variety of themes taken from real life and the supernatural. Imaginery and real "other children"—with their own characteristics, problems, and backgrounds—are favorite subjects for stories. Teachers should guide but not dominate students in the selection of individual reading materials, choosing from a variety of contemporary and classic, written and recorded media.

Who Evaluates What, for Whom and Why?

One of the purposes of the American Indian Historical Society conference on textbook correction was to determine **where** the responsibility for honest textbooks lies. The conference concensus was that publishing companies and educational writers and school administrations must share the blame for past inaccuracies, but that all members of any educational community must work together for the improvement of teaching materials.

It follows that the best (that is, the most balanced and fairest) textbook review committees are broadly based, including teachers, students, other school personnel, librarians, administrators, school board members, racial and special interest groups, male and female representation. School districts can establish comprehensive review boards to formulate goals for entire boroughs and cities, but each school should also have a textbook review committee of its own, with a membership that is representative of that school's population of teachers, students, parents, and other interested community members.

Because of the complex nature of school communities, textbook review committees seem to function best when they are allowed to determine their own organization, methods of operation, and by-laws. Some offer training workshops in evaluation, while others cooperate with local civil and human rights organizations to disseminate materials on textbook review. Actions which textbook review committees can take include, but are not limited to, these:

1. Discuss the biases in books with family members, community youth groups, Literary Appreciation Clubs, and other groups; make a point of uncovering hidden messages and implied values in books and other media.
2. Hold "open" as well as "closed" meetings to exchange ideas with others interested in analyzing books and classroom materials.
3. Plan school- and community-wide meetings with speakers on racism and sexism; hold workshops for administrators, teachers, parents, and students. Make sure that there is substantial local input to such workshops, particularly in initial planning and implementation stages.
4. Encourage open analysis of textbooks and other materials rather than pre-censorship in the classroom. Support classroom innovations which lead to the creation and sharing of book "critiques" as well as book reports by students.
5. Set up special sections for racist and sexist books in the library; let students working in groups decide which books merit special placement. Post book reviews written by students on library shelves.
6. Write, and let children write, to book publishers, complaining about specific passages and their offensiveness. Send copies of such letters to local newspapers, and urge others to do likewise.
7. Inform other local, state, and national organizations of your efforts and exchange ideas with other concerned citizens.
8. Avoid the "all-of-the-people-all-of-the-time" syndrome.

For newly organized textbook review committees, guideline number 8 is perhaps the most important one to remember: textbook evaluation must be performed with rational, realistic judgment as well as with an eye for undue bias. A book which presents stereotyped images may not always be inaccurate or in need of burning. For example, women did function much like slaves in certain periods of history, and a Black man may be lazy,

although it is not his "Blackness" which makes him so. Rather than burn all books which contain racist and sexist images, we must teach children to recognize and confront prejudice, to formulate values based on adequate information, and to resist "snap" judgments of human personality. The story of Chiang and Chiquita Applebaum, a brother (?) and sister (?) with unstable personal identities, describes what can happen when a writer yields to special group pressures and tries to contrive a story that will offend no one. The moral of this story is that a children's story which offends no one also inspires no one and is unrealistic because no honest point of view is represented. This kind of writing is "emptier" than biased writing, which presents only one viewpoint or maintains that one lifestyle is superior to all others.

Conclusion

The most constructive attempts at educational materials evaluation occur every day in the classroom, where students and their teacher discuss textbooks and other media in an honest, discriminating fashion. From these discussions, projects such as the rewriting of local history or the staging of historical skits to correct inaccuracies can develop. One teacher in a New York public school asked her class to re-enact famous events in American history from a non-White viewpoint. Here are some of the springboards that the students used to get started:

- "Thanksgiving is a day of mourning for Native Americans.
- "Harriet Tubman was the greatest heroine of American history.
- "The U.S. government plotted a war against Mexico in order to steal its lands.
- "The U.S. is not helping Puerto Rico to independence—but is helping itself to Puerto Rico.

Other classes of students have participated in restructuring classroom library corners to include more books that appeal to minority (and majority) students. Middle-school children have written book reviews for younger students and designed their own reading lists.

Working with other children on book review projects and "correcting" misleading information is an **adventure** for most students. Learning not to accept everything in print but at the same time recognizing and appreciating honest, vital literature is a bold undertaking which involves meeting issues such as racism and sexism headon, becoming personally involved with fictional characters and real people, and developing individual tastes in reading by sharing books with others. Children, like textbooks, can be "culturally deprived"—if they know nothing about themselves and their real contribution to culture; if they know nothing about their own history.

Recommendation

What can a teacher, school, school board, and school district do when relevant, unbiased materials about their community are lacking? Conduct a community-wide writing campaign to produce the necessary materials! After some initial training in educational materials design, young and older people working together, in Native languages and English, can enjoy writing, publishing, evaluating, and revising their own textbooks and supplements.

FOOTNOTES

1. Earl J. Barlow, Letter and inserts. Browning, Montana, March 7, 1974.
2. C. Katasse, informal survey in ED 627, summer 1974.
3. Ibid.
4. Foundation for Change, Inc., "Racism Rating: Test Your Textbooks" (flier. Broadway, N. Y.: Foundation for Change, Inc., 1974-75).
5. American Indian Historical Society, *Textbooks and the American Indian* (San Francisco, CA: Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1970), p. 11.
6. Ibid., p. 11.
7. Ibid., p. 7.
8. Foundation for Change, Inc., "Definitions of Racism: A Contemporary Glossary" (flier: Broadway, N. Y.: Foundation for Change, Inc., 1974-75).
9. Foundation for Change, Inc., "Racism Rating: Test Your Textbooks," front page.
10. Council on Interracial Books for Children, *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin*, vol. V, no. 3, 1974, p. 6.
11. James A. Smith, *Adventures in Communication: Language Arts Methods* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972), p. 287.
12. Ibid., p. 289.
13. Ibid., pp. 289-290.
14. Foundation for Change, Inc., "Racism Rating: Test Your Textbooks."

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CROSS-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SCIENCES

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Introduction

Most students have been exposed to mathematics and some form of science education for each year of their first nine grades. Many have gone on to increase their skill in these subject areas while in high school. Nevertheless, the most commonly referred to nemesis of a given student's college degree aspirations are the associated math and science requirements.

The low matriculation rate of minority students into the fields of mathematics, physical sciences, engineering and chemistry, herein referred to as the basic sciences, has become a major concern of the professional sciences. A large component of this concern originates with the economic pressure attendant to the recently enacted affirmative action statutes. More recently, however, the concern about minority representation in the basic sciences has been increasingly motivated by more humanistic and academic considerations. In the first place, an increased minority participation in the workings of basic science would add dimension to the field. In the second place, the question itself is interesting: "Why is there not more minority representation, at any educational level, in the fields of the basic sciences?"

Clearly the question has a partial answer by virtue of the fact that many potential minority students of the basic sciences are intimidated by a negative anticipation of the curriculum. However, this partial answer will logically lead one to ask why the minority student should be so decidedly affected in this way when compared to the typical student of the dominant culture and race. Such questions were raised during the recent development of courses designed specifically to meet the needs of Native Alaskan university students.

At the start of the fall semester, 1972, two special cross-cultural science courses were offered at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks (UAF). These courses were developed in response to a growing awareness that many culturally different and rurally educated students did not go on to complete their college degree aspirations simply because of the difficulty they experienced while trying to satisfy course requirements that implied a working knowledge of math and the associated scientific method.

At the beginning of each course, questionnaires were passed out. The intent of the questionnaire was to determine the average working knowledge of the class in math and science. Once this norm was established, the courses would begin at that level of math and science and work upward, reaching, hopefully, a point at which each student could successfully compete in other

scientifically oriented courses on their own. The results of the questionnaires were surprising. For instance, in the class offered during the fall semester of 1975, a questionnaire was passed out during the second meeting of the course–before instruction began in earnest in any course at UAF. The questionnaire contained problems of a mathematical and physical nature. The questionnaire was anonymous and there was no time limit. An example of the type of problem found on that questionnaire is "What does 7 - 8 equal?" Also: "What does 1/2 + 1/3 equal?" There was another problem of similar nature and also one word problem. The word problem was constructed so as to give its own answer. Out of 22 respondents, 13 students answered **all** the math problems incorrectly. Of the 22 students, 18 could not answer the word problem, even though it gave its own answer. Similar student performance has been noted within every class of every semester that the courses have been offered.

The question as to why there is not more minority representation in the basic sciences and the question concerning why the minority student should so negatively anticipate a scientific curriculum seems to have been largely answered by the results of these questionnaires. That is, typical rurally educated Alaskan students were being sent to college grossly underprepared for the academic challenge that would face them. The next question that arises, then, is how the college level educator might successfully instruct this group of students in the sciences, their academic preparation notwithstanding. Indeed, given their preparation, why should this group of students even be required to take science?

In answer to the latter question, the value of scientific education can be seen to manifest itself in many ways; the most obvious of which is to allow the student a certain flexibility in a technologically bound society. By learning the vocabulary and method of science, a student opens up broad areas of experience that would normally be closed to him. But this is only a narrow pragmatic aspect of the value of a scientific education. If we consider what cognitive areas are represented in science, we see that education therein, if appropriately done, could facilitate cognitive mobility in exactly those areas. The obvious cognitive task involved in science is abstract thought. Thus, by constructing science or math courses that deal not only with the pragmatic aspects of science education but also with cognitive mobility in abstract thought, the student could benefit by being involved in a directed effort that explicitly addresses development in at least one of the major consequential cognitive areas of the formal education process itself.

To answer the former question, one must appeal to cultural and educational research. In concurrence, it is the purpose of this paper to present the results of educational research that was performed for the intent of improving the effectiveness of the afore-mentioned cross-cultural science courses. While the results of the research were addressed to the need of the particular group of students of the class being taught, it is thought that these same results could just as easily be applied to any group of culturally different students at any educational level. That is to say, the orientation of the educational research was broad in scope and it was concerned with the determination of which cognitive parameters were of primary importance in the education of the culturally different.

Cognitive Ability: Genetics Vs. Environment

Cultural minority groups are often composed of people who may also be considered as racially minor. It is well known that I.Q. test data yields consistent associations between the type of cognitive response being assessed by the I.Q. test and the race of the testee. Alternatively, the same test data will show a strong association between culture and cognitive ability. Consequently, a large portion of the research associated with cross-cultural education concerns itself with the polemic issues surrounding the cognitive consequences of culture or environment versus race. This issue is germain to the endeavor of this paper, for if certain racial groups are cognitively incapable of academic success in the basic sciences, the question of minority participation in those sciences is largely answered. The same is true if certain cultural groups are cognitively incapable of academic success in the basic sciences. There is one important difference: If scientific cognitive capability is largely under racial genetic control, short of eugenics, little can be done to achieve a productive and viable racial balance within the basic sciences. If, on the other hand, scientific cognitive capability is under a dominant cultural control, much can be done to increase minority participation in the sciences by appropriate changes in curriculum materials, teaching styles, etc.

A good part of the problem of assessing the cognitive capability or intelligence of a particular cultural or racial unit is the lack of an acceptable definition for what is meant by cognition or intelligence. Many researchers simply define intelligence as that cognitive component that is measured by the I.Q. test. Jensen (1969), using such a definition of intelligence, showed that intelligence is functionally related to race. In a later and much broader analysis of the genetics-environment argument, Baker (1974) concluded much the same thing as Jensen. Baker's main thesis was that given the easily assessed morphological differences between racial norms, it would be inconceivable to assume that the potential cognitive capability of one race was exactly the same as that of any other race.

Myriad papers have been written in rebuttal to, especially, Jensen's argument that intelligence is genetically heritable. Essentially, these rebuttals filled in those areas that concerned the cultural and environmental influence on intelligence that were either neglected or superficially treated by both Jensen and Baker. Some papers took a general exception to the idea of relating phenotypical and genotypical traits among biological populations (see, for instance, Lavzer, 1975). The rebuttal arguments were persuasive and when taken in conjunction with the genetic position showed the need for a continued effort into the question of the cognitive influences of culture and environment, as opposed to race.

It has become increasingly clear that there are many cognitive influences in our lives; two of the most important of which are the cognitive influences of language and formal education. It will be recognized that language is a function of culture, or in some cases, contact among cultures. Formal education is virtually always a cultural contact experience for the culturally different student. Whorf (1956), using a Hopi Indian example, established the hypothesis that differences between linguistic structures imply differences in cognitive processes. To exemplify this hypothesis, we need only consider the grammatical emphasis on time exhibited by the currently dominant Western culture and compare that with the lack of emphasis on time found in most American Indian cultures. As an example,

in the Inupiaq (Eskimo) language to say "four seals" is perfectly feasible whereas to say "four hours" is not. In Inupiaq, there are event oriented time designations for morning (uvlaaq), afternoon (qitingnguq), and night (unnuk), (Wilson, 1975), but time durations, like the hour must be somehow specified according to the given time designations. For instance, "the man stayed four hours" might be translated in Inupiaq as "the man was here in the afternoon." Whorf showed that the Hopi language is similarly event oriented with respect to time. It is Whorf's contention that this grammatical difference is a manifestation of a different conception of reality. While Whorf's thesis is not universally accepted, it does point to some difficulties of a grammatical nature that may be encountered in cross-cultural education. Shribner and Cole (1973) in their paper on cognitive consequences of formal education showed that classification, articulation and abstract thought are among the more easily defined cognitive consequences. Whorf's point thus falls into perspective. If different linguistic schemes imply different cognitive topologies, then surely at least one of the consequences of formal education becomes involved: vis., articulation. Academic success at the college level depends heavily on the ability to articulate well in the accepted fashion of the given educational community. A cross-cultural student whose lexicon is different from the academic community in which he is a member will find articulation difficult. Consider then the problems that may be encountered if the student's conception of reality is also different.

Colby (1975) suggests the term culture grammar to describe the operational function of culture. Colby quotes an unpublished description of his meaning, written by Schwartz as: "There are a number, probably not large, of basic and powerful heuristic modes of problem construal and approaches to solutions which are variably manifest and developed in different cultures. Where these heuristics are present they may be specific to certain tasks or they may be general—in other words, available for the solution of novel problems." The heuristics described by Schwartz are synonymous with Colby's culture grammar. If the culturally different student's conception of reality is not exactly different, his culture grammar most assuredly is. Hence, this student's form of expressing reality, or more particularly, his behavior will also be different. Given different modes of problem construal and approaches to solutions, the culturally minor student will exhibit a propensity toward failure when faced with the task of interpreting contingencies that are culturally specified in ways that are, by definition, outside his scope of experience.

It will be recalled that a high percentage of the students involved in the cross-cultural science courses could not answer the worded problem. This word problem and the average student's inability to answer it points to a general non-interpretable contingency. That is to say, the student's familiarity with scientific lexicon and syntax was minimal. Consequently, the student could not encode the information contained in the question. That the student could decode the question, if understood, is testified to by his ability to complete the rest of the questionnaire. That the student could cognitively process the question, once it was encoded, is apparent because of the relatively simple cognitive task built into the problem. It is not clear whether Whorf's contention that a person of a different linguistic community possesses a different conception of reality was represented in the response that was recorded for this question. It is clear, however, that the difficulties

encountered by the students in understanding such a question are easily overcome. This was demonstrated by asking similar questions at a later date and receiving a predominantly correct response on each occasion.

Cole and Scribner's book, **Culture and Thought** (1974), suggests that abstract reasoning is not intrinsic to most traditional cultural units. While this suggestion is imminently reasonable, the concept of a relation between cultural traditionality and the possession of abstract thought is not simple. On one hand there is a temptation to equate articulated or nonarticulated abstract cognitive processes with "Western" modes of thought. However, if one traces the cognitive development of Western man, it is found that the abstract thought processes were not made explicit until rather late in history. The Greeks brought to explication abstract reasoning in the West when they further developed and articulated the various logical systems. Nevertheless, Denny (1972) would argue that a substantial portion of any "Western" sample of people use thought processes that are distinctly nonabstract (so-called concrete thought). So, if the Greeks brought formal abstract processes to the West, there are, evidently, still a great many Westerners who haven't yet caught on.

On the other hand, one might take the position that while abstract thought may not be universal to Westerners, it is in the West that such modes of thinking reside, to the exclusion of other civilizations. However, a study of Pre-Columbian civilizations firmly establish that the American Indian practiced the scientific method (Brown, 1975) and, as a result, must have incorporated abstract thought processes into their culturally specified cognitive patterns. Indeed, Gallenkamp (1976) has pointed out that the Maya developed fully articulated versions of certain scientific concepts that even the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans did not possess. Other examples of this type of cognitive development within various ancient civilizations of man can be cited.

Where does this leave us? As stated before, there is no simple relation between traditionality and abstractness. This statement now becomes more persuasive in as much as we can establish the existence of concrete thought among some persons of Western culture and abstract thought within some "traditional" cultures. The position we consider the most useful for further conceptual development is to make the extent to which abstract cognition comprises high probability behavior in a particular culture part of the definition of its traditionality. Thus, rather than implicitly assuming a cause and effect relationship between traditionality and abstractness, they become associated by definition.

Academic Success

Academic success has been mentioned throughout the preceeding discussion concerning the periphery of a few important aspects of cognitive ability and intelligence. Cognitive ability and intelligence were dealt with primarily because they are at the core of questions that involve a student's ability to complete successfully a scientific curriculum. In one sense, the assessment of cognitive ability and intelligence is a precedent of the academic endeavor, while academic success is a post-factual evaluative device. However, we agree with Wallach's (1976) persuasive presentation that test scores, college grades, et cetera, do not correlate very well with external achievements in the real world. Nevertheless, for minority students, performance in

the present academic setting is itself a realistic "real life" situation in which to achieve. This in addition to the usual avenues of achievement within their culture of origin.

If we examine the cognitive attributes of a given student or group of students and then allow those attributes to infer something of the capability of that student or group of students, we are in somewhat of a conjectural milieu. This is because no precedent cognitive evaluation can portray the entire cognitive spectrum needed to construct a comprehensive prediction. Using academic success as the metric of cognitive ability or intelligence, on the other hand, requires no conclusions of a conjectural nature, other than those raised by Wallach (1976). From the realistic point of view, academic success is a more meaningful measure of cognitive ability than I.Q. tests, et cetera, simply because the academic success criterion is a means whereby one may quantify that which exists in fact. Inductive reasoning may then be invoked to attempt to explain the reason why behind the factual observation. For these reasons, the academic success criterion will be defined and thereafter used in conjunction with the point of this paper.

Academic success is presently defined as the achievement of a grade point average (GPA) equal to or greater than 3.00 (grade = B), while at the same time enrolled in courses that comprise at least 12 semester hours.

Relating the various cognitive components of academic success, as it has been defined, to the existing I.Q. tests and other precedent cognitive measures is outside the scope of this paper. It can be inferred, however, that the academic success criterion does contain many of the same parameters that characterize the I.Q. test, provided that the course structure implicit within the criterion is sufficiently broad in scope. In addition, the academic success criterion implicitly contains cognitive parameters that are not generally assessed by precedent evaluative tests. We thus assume the validity of the academic success criterion as a metric of total cognitive ability, with the proviso that care must be taken in examining the implicit course structure that affects the criterion. In so doing, it is felt that we are using a more unified cognitive assessment tool and one that is, in any case, post-factual.

Student Orientation Services

The Student Orientation Services (SOS) was begun at UAF in 1969 in response to the needs of students from rural areas of Alaska and students whose cultural background was different from the major culture of the campus. From the inception, the SOS student body has been composed primarily of students with a Native Alaskan racial and cultural heritage. Usually, a student served by SOS receives financial assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Academic funding from BIA is contingent upon the race of the applicant. At least one-quarter Indian or Eskimo blood (Indianid) is mandatory by law for the applicant to qualify for financial assistance. Part of the BIA scholarship assistance applications contain certain questions that seek to establish each applicant's racial background. SOS seeks to establish racial heritage for each student under their auspices since these statistics are a part of their operational objectives. Both BIA and SOS are aided in their endeavor by the recent enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971. To receive benefits under the new Act, each registrant must have a verifiable Native Alaskan ancestry. Consequently, most students who are a part of the SOS student body have an

accurately known racial heritage. In addition to this valuable racial profile for each student, the cultural heritage may be inferred from the student's village or town of origin and the schools attended.

Hybridity among the Indianid population is common. Most hybrids, however, are at most third generation or less. As a result, the majority of SOS students are known to be 0/4, 1/4, 2/4, 3/4, or 4/4 Indianid-White hybrids. A few students fit the racial fractions 3/8, 5/8, 7/8, and 15/16. In actual fact, these racial fractions do not exactly fit many of the SOS population students. This is a consequence of a constant genetic input from European and Asian races for at least the last 150 years. However, this genetic input has been sporadic and generally far removed in terms of the generation of the current SOS population. By now, this genetic pool broadening influence must be random and slight. It can therefore be assumed that the racial fraction listed by each individual student applies accurately to the average of all students who list their race with the same fraction. Quite easily, then, those SOS students who can be described by the given racial fractions can be grouped into two populations defined as $\leq 2/4$ Indianid and $>2/4$ Indianid. Moreover, the Indianid genetic influence within these two populations will be known to an unusual accuracy.

Cultural and societal isolation is a very tangible quality of Alaskan life. The immense area of Alaska combined with its sparse population renders most towns and villages easily accessible only by air. If it is known that a particular village or town is isolated, except by air, and that it is comprised primarily of Indianids, the cultural demeanor of the village may be inferred. In this example, it could be said that a member of the village under consideration has been exposed to a more traditional culture than some arbitrary member of another town or village that was neither so isolated nor populated so predominantly by Indianids. Thus, SOS students who have listed their village of origin can at least subjectively be placed into three categories that best describe the type of cultural influence they have had in their early life. The categories that will be used here will be defined as Native background (NB), rural background (RB), and urban background (UB). NB corresponds to the type of background described in the above example. The RB category corresponds to those students whose origin is listed as a rural town or village which is known to have a cultural demeanor that departs radically from the traditional culture of the Indianid members. Such a place would be Glennallen, Alaska, which has a significant Indianid population but which is accessible by road and which is culturally "western." Another RB location would be a coastal village whose economic base has shifted to commercial fishing; an enterprise governed by western culture. The UB category is obvious. In this category were placed all students who were raised either outside Alaska or within one of Alaska's urban centers. Foreign Indianids were excluded from consideration because their racial and cultural makeup could not be determined as accurately as U.S. Indianids.

The majority of the members of the generation of students being discussed here received their primary education in their village of origin. This is not the case for their secondary education. Because most villages have too small a population to support a high school, the State of Alaska and the BIA deemed it appropriate to offer secondary education only at schools that were removed from the student's home. Boarding home programs were established and students from the outlying villages populated the programs.

When a boarding home student was sent to an educational institution that was meant primarily for native or BIA students, that student was categorized as receiving a native education (RE). Those students who were fortunate enough to have a boarding home school located in their village and, as a result, attended that school were also categorized as receiving a native education. Most boarding home schools were, for the generation of students under consideration, located in an area with a high Indianid population. If the school was, on the other hand, located in a rural or urban area and was not meant primarily for boarding home students, then the student was categorized as either receiving a rural education (RE) or an urban education (UE). Students who did not attend high school or who received a high school diploma by examination or correspondence school were categorized as GED.

In addition to tabulating students according to background and education, a table was constructed which delineated the number of students of each racial fraction according to their year in college, their sex, and whether or not they have declared a major. This later category was included because a declared major implies a more directed academic endeavor as well as implying more academic advisement from counseling sources outside of SOS.

Data Analysis

The data were arranged so as to form a table which gave the total number of SOS students by racial fraction, background and education category, NB, NE, et cetera. This was done for the group of students who attended college and took 12 units or more during the fall semester of 1974 and also for the spring semester of 1975. There was a total of 172 students counted during the fall semester of 1974 (F74) and 142 during the spring semester of 1975 (S75). Each student included in these numbers could be unambiguously placed into a racial, cultural and educational category; otherwise they were excluded from the count.

Once it was known how many of the total number of SOS students of each semester were represented in each compound racial, cultural, and educational category, it was then determined how many of these had achieved a semester GPA greater than or equal to 3.0. The two numbers were then compared. First, the number of students who, on the basis of chance alone, would be expected to fit a given compound category was compared with the number actually occurring in that category. This gave information as to whether the number of students appearing in a given category was above or below that number of students which could be expected to occur at random. Next, a statistic related to chi-square was applied to the numbers of each compound category so as to determine the significance between the relative magnitudes represented by the numbers, if any.

Table (1) shows the results of this procedure. The numbers appearing in each compound category are termed $\mathfrak{a}$-numbers. To clarify the meaning of the $\mathfrak{a}$-numbers, consider the table and the category of students who attended college during F74 and who were less than or equal to one-half Indianid. The $\mathfrak{a}$-number for the background section UB F74 $\leq 2/4$ Indianid set is +89. This means that random fluctuations alone would produce the number of F74 $\leq 2/4$ Indianid academically successful (AS) students appearing in that factor 89% of the time, given the background structure of the SOS population. The sign indicates directionality and shows that the AS factor number exceeded expectation (+) or that the AS factor number was

TABLE (1)

	S75 Union	S75 > 2/4	S75 ≤ 2/4	F74 Union	F74 > 2/4	F74 ≤ 2/4
NB	-82	-93	+70	-87	+91	-82
RB	-90	—	+88	-95	—	+90
UB	+84	+66	+74	+95	—	+89
NE	+85	+92	+63	+88	+89	+77
RE	-91	—	+86	-96	—	+91
UE	-90	+84	-76	-96	—	-93
GED	—	—	—	—	—	—
YR1	100	+78	+73	-94	-96	+94
YR2	—	—	—	+96	+90	-80
YR3-4	—	—	—	+95	-85	+84
M	-93	-91	—	-94	+94	-83
F	+91	-92	+73	+87	-97	+87
MAJ	-88	-85	-90	-88	-96	+95
RACE	—	-88	+82	—	-90	+90
NO. IN AS SET	19	8	11	26	13	13

below expectation (-). The same factor listed for the S75 > 2/4 Indianid set shows an α-number of +66. In the same manner, the +66 value indicates that the number of S75 > 2/4 Indianid AS students occurring in that factor would occur by chance alone 66% of the time, given the background structure of the SOS population. The other α-numbers imply the same interpretation.

Given the meaning of the α-number, we see that those factors that have the lowest α-numbers are the most significant. That is to say, a factor with a low α-number simply says that the AS population number appearing in that factor would appear by chance alone less often than if it had a higher α-number. In that case, it is evident which factors are the more significant to which racial types.

From the table it can be seen that the most significant background features of academic success among the group of students of each semester who are ≤ 2/4 Indianid are, respectively, NB, UB, and RB. Among those students of each semester who were greater than 2/4 Indianid, the most significant background feature seems to be the UB category. The data are incomplete for this set but the α-number given for the S75 > 2/4 category suggests that it is highly significant whether or not the Native students involved were raised in an urban setting. It should be noted that the directionality for this category is positive. In other words, those students who fell into this category exceeded expectation. This result corroborates the idea that an urban background provides a person with a cultural grammar that possesses more cognitive components requisite to academic success than does the Native or rural background.

In support of this interpretation, consider the union set for each semester. We see that, on the average, a person raised in the traditional culture falls below expectation while those raised in settings indicative of a dominant cultural influence usually exceeded expectation. Those raised in a wholly urban setting always exceeded expectation.

The education section of Table (1) shows that the GED factor was in all cases not amenable to the type of statistics used in the analysis. No attempt was made to develop means whereby this factor could become statistically analysed.

From the education section some very interesting observations immediately emerge. It is noticed from the data that the NE directionality remained positive across the semester for the $\leq 2/4$ sets. For this same set, the UE factor remained negative. This is in contrast to what would be expected. A rural native education should equip a student academically less well than the urban education. The reverse seems to be the case. Here we see that those students with a rural native education exceed expectation while those students characterized as receiving an urban education achieve at a rate that is less than expected. Judging from the magnitude of the significance, we cannot assume that the unexpected behavior of one or two students have caused this curious situation to have occurred. The $> 2/4$ set indicates that the magnitude of the significance of this category changed little from F74 to S75 but the directionality was negative. However, the significance levels are so slight here that little meaning can be attached to the directionality.

Recalling the criteria used to categorize a student as either NE or UE we see possibly important differences that may affect the student's later academic potential. An obvious consideration is whether or not the student was removed from his traditional background to attend a school that reflected a different cultural milieu. In analysing the data it was found that during F74, $20 > 2/4$ students were categorized as NB. For this same group of students, it was found that only 10 were categorized as NE. Similarly, RB = 30 and UB = 18 while RE = 27 and UE = 28. Obviously, there is a divergence of students from the rural and native background setting into the urban education setting. The students so displaced may have reacted to their environment to result in a population of students who received the "benefits" of an urban education but whose psychological and cultural impact problems overlaid those educational aspects assumed to be beneficial. This conclusion has been reached independently by Kleinfeld (1974).

Considerations other than prior background or education enter the equation for academic success. For this reason other categories that suitably describe each student have been included in the data. The YR. STANDING section has been included both because the information is easily obtainable and because the data can serve as a check to see if the SOS student body and their academically successful students follow the same yearly trend as the general UAF student body. At UAF and most other universities, the year standing of the student has much to say about their chance of becoming academically successful. A higher percentage of upper division students attain the 3.00 GPA than lower division students. In other words, the year standing becomes a more and more significant aspect of academic success. Most of the S75 data is not usable to determine whether or not this is the case with the SOS student body. The F74 data shows, however, that the tendency for SOS students to academically succeed, the longer they remain in college, matches the general tendency of the UAF student body. That this is so adds credibility to the tacit assumption that a given SOS student is representative.

The MAJ factor was included for reasons previously stated. We notice

from Table (1) that the significance is slight but it is noticed that, except for the union set, the significance increases from one semester to the other. The greatest change and greatest absolute significance is recorded for the $> 2/4$ Indianid group of students. Moreover, the directionality shows that this group of students fell short of expectation. Declaring a major implies an increased level of academic advisement from counselors outside of SOS. For the $> 2/4$ Indianid student, who would exhibit more of the difficulties associated with a student of a rural native background and education, this advisement may be detrimental. In keeping with this interpretation, we notice that within the $\leq 2/4$ Indianid group of students, the MAJ category is less important than it is for the $> 2/4$ Indianid set. The $\leq 2/4$ Indianid student body contains fewer students with a rural native background or education. Hence, unenlightened academic advisement would be expected to affect them less.

Turning now to the implications attendent to the racial factors, we notice only a marginal significance. It is interesting to note that the $\leq 2/4$ Indianid students exceeded expectation during both semesters while the $> 2/4$ Indianid group fell below expectation. However, as can be noticed, the significance in the racial factors changes from one semester to the next. This would suggest that the racial factors are confounded with other factors. The directionality notwithstanding, the significance levels for this factor when compared with the significance levels of other factors indicate that while race may enter into the equation for academic success, other factors are potentially much more important.

Discussion and Conclusion

To summarize the results that have been obtained by analyzing the SOS student body data, it has been found that various factors enter the equation for academic success. The most significant of these factors was found to be related to whether or not the student had been displaced from his traditional cultural environment to receive his secondary education. It was found that if a student was so displaced, the supposed beneficient aspects of the displacement were in fact translated into a propensity for failure, insofar as achieving a high grade point average in college was concerned. On the other hand, if the student remained within his own cultural unit to receive his secondary education, this was translated into a propensity toward success. This, in spite of the fact that the urban integrated school is considered the superior educational environment when compared to the rural, often, nonintegrated school.

The next important term that entered the equation for academic success at the college level was found to be related to the students' early cultural environment. In particular, those raised in an urban setting were found always to exceed expectation whereas those raised in rural or traditional cultural environments, on the average, fell below expectation.

In the data analysis it was also found that the race of the student was of less importance than the student's cultural and educational background. For instance, correlations between the race of the student and whether or not that student became academically successful was found to be of marginal significance. On the other hand, if the student were raised in an urban setting, expectation was exceeded regardless of the racial type considered.

But, how might one translate this information into a meaningful educational process specified for the Alaskan minority student?

In the first place, it should be apparent that the delivery system for secondary education in rural Alaska needs to be overhauled. If the results of the data analysis reported herein are correct, it is obvious that the present delivery is detrimental to the average student. That is, the data suggests that it is better for a student to receive his education within the cultural unit in which he was raised. This is evidently true even though the rural secondary programs are not in general able to meet the same academic standards as the urban secondary programs. Hence, the delivery system should be changed so as to allow more students to receive their education, in total, within the cultural unit in which they are raised.

However, this is a long range goal and does nothing for those students who have been displaced and who are now displaced in deference to their secondary education. To develop viable educational programs for this group of students, one must consider what the net educational effect must have been in the displacement of these students.

From a simplistic point of view, we may say that students displaced from their traditional culture to receive their secondary education simply did not "learn" at the rate expected. More precisely, we may say that such a student did not incorporate the consequential cognitive tools, usually provided by the formal education process, into a modified culture grammar that would allow them to compete successfully in an urban professional or collegiate setting.

Moreover, those students who were raised and also educated within their traditional native environment may be considered in somewhat the same manner. Albeit to a far lower degree, these students also have not incorporated the necessary cognitive components within their operational culture grammar that will allow them to compete successfully in an urban academic or professional environment.

Any educational process specified with respect to these students should, therefore, contain the specific objective of reinforcing those cognitive areas that have here been postulated as weak. In other words, the educational process should, among other things, stress the development of the cognitive tools that are known to be important in the academic endeavor. For instance, English courses could, among other things, stress encoding and decoding so as to increase general articulation skills.

Perhaps one of the more valuable courses that may be offered the group of students under consideration here is a course concerned with the conceptual development of the scientific method. The reason for a science course being singularly important is because basic introductory science deals with very narrowly defined conceptual processes. There is very little subjective area for a student to deal with in solving a problem in the basic sciences.

Since science and math is nothing more than highly specialized logic, and hence, abstract thought, the narrow conceptual format may be utilized in a very advantageous way. As an example, a student could be asked to delineate verbally what one is actually doing when one solves a simple math problem. The narrow conceptual format of the problem does not allow the student to stray very far from the cognitive process being described. Moreover, in asking the student such a question, one would be giving the student

valuable practice in how to articulate her/his own thoughts. This ability has obvious value regardless of whether the student continues on in college or not.

Again using the narrow conceptual format of science to advantage, practice in encoding complicated verbal information is also easily given the student of a science course. For instance, the teacher can give the student an equation to solve, write down the solution verbally and then ask the student to solve the equation. The syntax and lexicon of the verbal solution could be varied, thus giving the student practice in encoding broad areas of articulated information.

Science has been a widely neglected area of education in most rural school systems of Alaska. This is evident when one considers the remarkably poor performance recorded for the afore mentioned questionnaires which were passed out to some 200 SOS students over a period of seven semesters. This apparent neglect of science education is indeed unfortunate for it has been shown that science can be an extremely valuable tool in facilitating cognitive mobility in exactly those areas that are known to be consequential to the formal education process itself. Further, sending students into a technological society, many times to participate in a collegiate or professional enterprise, only increases the probability that those students will fail in their particular endeavor.

In view of this, the authors of this paper strongly advise the development of rural educational programs that include science education as an important component. It is felt that in so doing the future practical, professional, and educational viability of the rurally educated person will be considerably enhanced.

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PART V

LANGUAGE ISSUES

Languages bear within them the biases of their originators—their attitudes and values. So that if young people grow up speaking and learning in the language of their ancestors, then certain central components of their cultural heritage are absorbed by them automatically. If, on the other hand, a language emanating from some other culture becomes the primary language of young people, then their most important link with their own cultural past is broken, their cultural identity begins to weaken, and ultimately, perhaps, the attitudes and values cherished for many generations by their own people are supplanted by those of the alien culture by which the language was imposed.

—Bill Vaudrin

Language has been a central issue in rural Alaskan education programs for many years, but has just recently emerged as a focus for local influence and involvement in educational programs and as a means for revitalizing cultural identity. Bilingual education has evolved into a major political movement which has affected nearly all rural, as well as some urban schools in the state. Though the momentum for bilingual education has been sustained largely through political processes, a growing awareness and acceptance of the educational and cultural significance of indigenous language in the school has led to the development of numerous Native language programs with a variety of purposes and rationales. The following articles address the issues from different perspectives, but all point to a clearer understanding of the role of language and an increased use of indigenous languages, both directly and indirectly, in the educational process.

BILINGUAL PROGRAMS: A NATIVE POINT OF VIEW.

by

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Education is something that a person acquires that nobody takes away from him. What is education? Is learning education? If learning is education, then learning in any language and culture must be education. Some Native Alaskans used to think that education was only being able to speak the English language. They did not realize that what they had learned to do in their language and culture was education. The children are taught how to carve, to sew, to hunt, to determine the weather, to learn the respectful ways of life and many, many more things. A lot of these things are learned in the classroom by city children. We all happen to have come from some sort of racial background. Our first education in essential living was learned through our immediate language and culture. We do not notice this until we see it in another culture. Language and culture goes very closely together.

Many of us had narrowed our education on English education only. Unfortunately focusing our education on only English has made some of us drift away from our original background.

We are not overlooking English education. It is a must for us, especially living in this widely English-speaking country. It opens many doors to deeper knowledge, but it should not let us stray away from our original culture. We can develop from where we are, without changing our image.

Bilingual education has been misinterpreted and misunderstood by many people. As soon as the word "Bilingual" is heard, it is thought of as teaching in a Native tongue only. We forget the real meaning of it, which is really using two different languages. I personally hope that most of us interpret bilingual education as studies in two cultures and their respective languages.

Bilingual programs vary in Alaskan communities. For those who speak their Native tongue, the Native tongue is used as a first language in instructing children in the classrooms when they first start school, because many of these children know very little or no English at all. For the communities whose language is English or both English and Native, the Native language is taught as a second language. The concept of bilingual education for those who are from Native speaking communities is teaching that in a Native tongue is to teach them in the language they know and understand. But that is not all. It is also to carry on the language and culture that is important and original to them, to show them that they can be educated and still continue to live their own culture. For those who are mixed Native and English communities—Native language is taught as a second language so the younger generation can learn their original background and appreciate it. I have already seen the appreciation of learning and knowing the Native Alaskan culture by many children and the younger generation.

Since education has been based on only English, we have drifted away from using our own Native language, and using English language has made us slowly drift away from our own culture. We had been too busy to

realize all this. We should be grateful that reviving our language and reviving our culture are included in our educational system now before it completely fades away. For those of us who have a deep feeling about our language and culture, it means so much to us. It is not borrowed, it is something that is there, passed on from generation to generation. Do we want to get careless and let it all fade away? I would hate to see something that is meaningful and original fade away.

It is sad that some people do not realize the importance of our language and culture. Recently I was told that it did not matter whether the Native language and culture is preserved or not, and that the only importance of using Native language is a tool for the Native children to learn to speak better English. That was like telling me that it did not matter whether an Alaskan Native race survived or not. I did not forget that. It encouraged me to work harder toward studying and upgrading our own Native Alaskan teachings. Yes, it is helping children to understand and speak better English, but teaching in Alaskan Native is also to teach them to learn in their own respective Native language and culture.

The bilingual programs have helped in many ways. It is giving good results in teaching children in classrooms, especially in Native-speaking communities.

How is the bilingual education helping in the village schools? I come from a strictly Native-speaking community. When I go home, many things change for me--the language, the culture, food, behavior, and I feel good about it, because it is the original me. When I attended grade school, it was very difficult to understand what was being taught by English speaking instructors. We guessed a lot. When we were asked questions, we were afraid to respond in English for fear that our English was poor. We held back a lot, knowing our expressions were different than the white teacher. We were labeled retarded for not being responsive. Some of us were fortunate to have parents who cared about our education. I had a lot of help from my father who taught and explained school work and studies to me in Yupik. I did not understand half of the lessons in school. When my father explained in Eskimo what I did not understand, then I began to learn. I remember this and it made me feel good to learn.

When teaching an Alaskan Native language it has to be prepared and taught in the Native culture, or else it loses its taste when it is taught from an English teaching point of view. These are two different cultures. One has to have lived and experienced a culture in order to fully understand it. Speaking techniques differ when switching from one culture to another. The manner of speech has to be entirely from the particular view point of the culture and language that is being used. That is why the technique in Native language teachings need to be prepared by the Native instructor instead of being prepared from only the English point of view. When teaching in the Alaskan Native culture, the curriculum should be prepared to meet the needs of the children. The teaching should begin with the immediate surroundings. It is important that children begin to learn from their immediate environment and to gradually expand to wider areas as they become aware of distant events in life.

Today with bilingual program included in our schools, I have seen a tremendous change in the children's attitude toward school and towards their white teachers. I can speak for St. Lawrence Island schools because I am more

familiar with the schools there. First of all when the children first go to school their teachers are Eskimo teachers who teach them in Yupik the concept of English learning. They are responsive to what is being taught because they are being taught in the language and manner they know. They feel accepted and appreciated as students and because they are not criticized for what they are and how they expressed themselves. They are not afraid to express themselves to their English teacher because they readily feel accepted from their Native teacher. Good motivation to learn has shown itself in these students because they are understanding what is being taught to them and the way in which they express themselves in their own culture are accepted. School is fun for them now. This is showing them a greater understanding in their own culture as well as white culture.

Do we have to change our image to be accepted by larger societies? Sometimes we feel we have to, because we feel out of place and not belonging to the accepted culture. I have heard Native people saying they hesitate to express themselves in larger communities because they feel they are not accepted the way they are. Then they try to change their identity in order to be accepted. They feel bad for not being able to meet the culture of a city. We are only hurting ourselves when we try to change our identity and if we feel we don't meet the standards. We must help our children to appreciate their heritage and feel comfortable about expressing it. I have often heard the expression by some village people asking why all of a sudden we are trying to set them back to the old way of living. We are not trying to set them back. The idea for many of us who are concerned is, that Native Alaskans don't have to change their identity to be educated in the whiteman's world. You can stay just what you are and still become a professional in any field. I would like to mention that it should be emphasized, especially to the village children that they should act just the way they are. The feeling of being unable to measure up to a white culture in cities is really a set-back to the education of students from rural areas. They do not have to meet the standards of city life to be educated.

Teaching in the Native language in Native speaking villages is working because the children feel comfortable being taught in the manner they know. It is also expressed that it is hoped that Native instructions would no longer be needed in Native-speaking communities because teaching in English only is anticipated in the future. This kind of problem arises from misunderstanding of what we Natives want in our schools. Although we do not have any authority, we are concerned about our children's education and future. We have a right to express our feelings. I am encouraged to see more and more Alaskan Natives getting interested in Native language teaching as well as English teaching. Not everybody speaks two languages.

Bilingual education is important to us because it will give us a broader knowledge and understanding of one another. It is a troubled world already, we must work together and prepare a better future for our children so that they may feel comfortable just the way they are and accept each other. God made us what we are—why should we change to something we are not. We have an origin—we have a given talent, let us put that talent to work and progress from there—as a Native.

I feel sad with the Alaskan Native high school and college students who come to our University language office and express that they have no knowledge of their language and background. They are beginning to be aware of

the importance of their culture and want to learn about it. It is a slow movement and we will have some more differences about the program but I don't feel discouraged. To see these young people becoming interested in learning their language and culture is the beginning of reviving the original Alaskan culture. Because if we don't do anything about it, another culture will take over and our Alaskan Native language and culture will only be history.

DEFINITIONS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN ALASKA

by

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Definitions are not always clear, nor is it always clear just why definitions are necessary. The paradox of definitions lies in their being simultaneously necessary and useless. A sandwich may be defined as "two adjacent slices of bread separated by a comestible", but try to order one by its definition and you may get hungry, if not assaulted. We communicate by words not by their definitions but without definitions, words would be arbitrary, and hence, useless.

One of the joys of our lifetime has been the passing parade of new technical terms claiming to add efficiency, precision, and clarity to an otherwise complex existence. While no field is immune to neologisms, the practitioner in any field has the responsibility of making its definitions useful. By useful, I mean precise and comprehensive.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the usefulness of various attempts to define "bilingual education" with particular emphasis placed on their meaningfulness for multiple audiences; consumers as well as educational and political practitioners in Alaska's multilingual environment.

Before proceeding to the definitions and their evaluation, let me first give you some background about the nature and extent of bilingualism in Alaska. This background will also describe the various conditions under which the term "bilingual education" is currently being used, appropriately or not.

Bilingualism in Alaska

First, let me describe some general patterns of **bilingualism** in rural Alaska. Urban Alaska, though confronted with bilingualism represents sociolinguistic patterns beyond the scope of the present paper. A straight forward definition of **bilingualism** is given by Weinreich as "the practice of alternately using two languages . . . ," the person involved being called bilingual (Weinreich, 1954). But beyond the simple and straight forward there lies considerable complexity. Language use for any particular person may also involve the relative levels of competence in understanding languages heard (**receptive** skills), as well as the ability to produce languages (**expressive** skills) for communicating. Expressive skills may be further elaborated as **speaking** and **writing** skills; and receptive skills may also include **reading** in addition to **listening** skills.

In the case of bilingualism these definitional refinements are important because they require a closer look at the individual, since there are obviously many ways a person can practice the use of two (or more) languages. There is also educational importance insofar as the business of education is to develop proficiency. If there is more than one way of being proficient, then there are a like number of jobs to which educators must attend.

Linguists vary in the amount of proficiency a person must show before he can be called bilingual. On one end of the spectrum, Bloomfield (1933), claims equal and native-like proficiency must be shown before one may be called bilingual, whereas Diebold (1968), at the other end, suggests only passive (receptive) ability need be shown in a second language to qualify.

For Alaska, a useful definition of bilingualism should allow us to describe meaningfully as many bilingual persons and bilingual contexts as possible. Therefore, for purposes of practical application, it is probably the wisest course to accept the least conservative definition (Diebold's) as the most useful because it allows for the most sensitive system possible for describing bilingualism in Alaska.

Krauss (1973) has employed a system for describing Alaskan communities according to their level of native language use, not inconsistent with the above definition requirements. The system classes each native community as one of three possible types:

Type A. Monolingual Native: (fluent native-language speakers of all ages, including all or many children),

Type B. Bilingual: (few or no speakers under 10 years of age),

Type C. Monolingual English: (few or no speakers under 30 years of age).

A number of points should be made about the descriptive system to make clearer its educational importance. First, each type of community is "bilingual," even though two, types A and C, are listed as "monolingual." The key factor is language contact. Type A communities are in the constant position of contact with the national language, largely for purpose of commerce and other communication with the outside. Type C communities are generally in a state of transitional change away from a native language, the degree of transition varying from place to place. Table 1 shows the numbers of Alaskan communities of each type, by general language group.

Definitions of Bilingual Education

Given some understanding of the dimensions of bilingualism as a concept, and a cursory look at its distribution among Alaska's language groups, let us turn to definitions of bilingual education.

Table 1
Numbers of Alaskan Native Communities by Language Group and Language Use

Language Use[a]	Language Group					Total
	Eskimo-Aleut	Athapascan-Eyak	Tsimshian	Haida	Tlingit	
Type A	31	5	0	0	0	36
Type B	40	7	0	0	0	47
Type C	54	39	1	2	13	109
Total	125	51	1	2	13	192

a. A – All people speak the native language including children.
B – Some children speak the native language.
C – No children speak the native language.

In the **Draft Guidelines** for preparing program proposals under Title VII–Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1967 amendment), the following definition appears:

> Bilingual education is instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part or all of the school curriculum. Study of the history and culture associated with the student's mother tongue is considered an integral part of bilingual education (1967, p. 1).

Similarly, Gaarder (1967) defined the **bilingual school** as one "which uses, concurrently, two languages as mediums of instruction in any portion of the curriculum." He goes on to say, "teaching of a vernacular solely as a bridge to another, the official language, is not bilingual education . . ., nor is ordinary foreign language teaching."

The National Education Association's Task Force on Bilingual-Multicultural Education (1974) defined bilingual education as "a process which uses a pupil's primary language as the principal medium of instruction while teaching the language of the predominant culture in a well-organized program encompassing a multicultural curriculum."

The fourth definition comes from the **Education Amendments of 1974,** enacted into law as U.S. Public Law 93-380 on August 21, 1974. It says, in part:

> The term 'program of bilingual education' means a program of instruction designed for children of limited English-speaking ability in elementary or secondary schools, in which, with respect to the years of study to which such program is applicable–
>
> 1. there is instruction given in, a study of, English and, to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability, and such instruction is given with appreciation for the cultural heritage of such children, and, with respect to elementary school instruction, such instruction shall, to the extent necessary, be in all courses or subjects of study which will allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system.

Implied in the first two definitions, and explicitly stated in the last two is the requirement that the child possess a primary native, or home language other than English, in order to be a legitimate target for bilingual education.

These definitions make clear the importance of the language as a **medium** of instruction not just as subject matter, in order to qualify as bilingual schooling. Stressing the point, Anderson and Boyer (1969) take care to note that **English as a Second Language** (ESL) programs, and cultural awareness programs are often mislabeled **bilingual education.** They made a needed point that "such indiscriminate use of the term renders it meaningless."

There are distinctions worth maintaining among types of bilingual programs, all of which may qualify under the above definition. Mackey (1969), addressed this problem by conceptualizing a typology of bilingual education which accounts for ten basic curriculum patterns for five types of learners. Beginning with the latter, Mackey sees the home and school

language congruence as a key to typing bilingual education situations. The five types are:

1. Unilingual home: where the home language is the school language.
2. Unilingual home: where the home language is not the school language.
3. Bilingual home: both home languages include one school language.
4. Bilingual home: both home languages exclude school languages.
5. Bilingual home: both home languages include both school languages.

The ten curriculum patterns Mackey identifies vary according to five factors:

1. The **medium of instruction** may be one language, two languages, or more; in other words, the school may have a single medium or a dual medium curriculum;
2. The **development** pattern may be to maintain two or more languages, or to transfer from one medium of instruction to another;
3. The **distribution** of the languages may be to present different or equal amounts during the day;
4. The **direction** may be toward assimilation into a dominant culture, toward acculturation, or toward reintegration into a resurgent one, or it may be neither, but simply the maintenance of the languages at an equal level;
5. Finally, the **change** from one medium to another may be complete or gradual.

It should be pointed out that Mackey's typology is not consistent with the earlier definition in that two languages need not be present as mediums of instruction in order to be classified. The only requirement is for a bilingual context to exist either in the school, or in the interaction between the school and the learner's home, his community, or his country. By so doing, Mackey created a comprehensive scheme capable of describing virtually all cases where bilingual schooling in some form may be relevant.

Unfortunately, while the above definitions and Mackey's typology account for all of the important forms a language-sensitive education program can take, none are designed to account for the social or political aspects of the situations in which the programs exist. Describing the educational intentions of program planners gives only a portion of the picture, leaving the practitioner unable to evaluate the appropriateness of the educational plan for its social context.

Recent works by Spolsky (1974), and Erickson (1974) draw attention to the social context of bilingual education by adding non-school factors to existing descriptive models. Erickson stresses the "political" factors entering the descriptive system, suggesting the "politics of speaking" in a community are important to evaluating the appropriateness of a particular education approach. To translate an example given in Erickson's account into the present discussion of descriptive systems, a program may be intended to have the effect of language maintenance, but without accounting for the

social context establishing the program, it could literally succeed by failing or fail by succeeding. As Erickson states:

> By analyzing the actual "politics of speaking" in a program, researchers could determine how much the formal curriculum and social organization of the program was fostering first language maintenance. In addition, and perhaps even more importantly, this approach to evaluation could determine whether or not the informal or "hidden" curriculum and social organization of the program was inadvertently discouraging students from using their first language, despite the best intentions of the staff, parents, and the students themselves.

Spolsky sought to develop a formal model to account for the total context of bilingual programming. The model is based on a hexagon, each side of which represents a set of important factors influencing the educational program. The factors Spolsky considers important are labeled **psychological, sociological, economic, political, religio-cultural,** and **linguistic.** While each set has special significance for influencing the nature of an educational program, not all factors are equally important for all programs, and may even assume differential importance at different phases in the life of a single program.

The details of the descriptive systems offered by Spolsky and Erickson are too involved for the short introduction given here, and you are advised to pursue the source documents for further elaboration. The main reason for their being discussed is to give you some idea as to the complexity of the situations in which bilingual programs find themselves.

Limitations of the Definitions

Definitions of complex phenomena often risk having key limitations. Legend has it, for example, that one day Plato set the academy to defining **man.** After a full day's dialogue they settled tentatively on the definition "man is a featherless biped." The following day Diogenes appeared at the Academy with a plucked chicken, and stated, "Plato, here is your man." Plato sensed the problem lay in the overinclusiveness of the first attempt and so added the discriminating feature, "with broad nails." **Man** then was "a featherless biped with broad nails," a slight improvement.

The central limitation of all widely used definitions of bilingual education lies in their not properly accounting for cases where the children possess the residual effects of an indigenous language but are not able to speak it. In such cases the children may be every bit as estranged from school's standard English curriculum as children possessing a minority language. To their additional disadvantage, however, they have no alternative language to which the school can turn to provide a meaningful educational experience. Furthermore, the school may tend to treat the children as if language were no factor since, if the children do not speak another language, the school is free to use standard English.

Native communities where the native language traditional to the area has been replaced by a nonstandard dialect of English are not rare in Alaska. Table 1 showed the number of communities within each of Alaska's language groups at general levels of native language strength. The overall percentage in Alaska of type C communities (where no children speak the native

language) is about 57 per cent. If the number of communities where only some of the children speak the native language is added to that figure it rises to 81 per cent!

If we assume the vast majority of these communities to be in a state of linguistic and cultural transition, it follows that the children carry into their school years, residual effects, linguistic as well as cultural, capable of exercising profound influence on their ability and desire to function in a school environment comprising standard English consistently tangential to their life experiences.

With few exceptions (e.g., Kari and Spolsky, 1973), little is known about the sociolinguistic forces governing this transitional situation, making the job of creating a culturally and linguistically appropriate curriculum doubly difficult. As noted by Kari and Spolsky:

> With a few distinguished exceptions, the student of an Amerindian language has paid little attention to the sociolinguistic situation of his informants, except to remark how few speakers there are or how poorly they remember the language. From their studies, one can learn incidentally about the language loss and destruction, but seldom are there indications of the process itself, of what other languages are adopted, or of the nature of bilingualism. Only very recently, with the impetus of interest on the one hand in the ethnography of speech and on the other in bilingual education has there been a smattering of studies focusing on Amerindian bilingualism (p. 1).

Since nearly all of Alaska's rural communities can be shown to be bilingual in some sense, it follows that, given the necessary sociolinguistic research, an appropriate program could be devised in which the native language occupies a significant role in the curriculum. Each community has different needs and desires where the native language is at issue. Thus, for Alaska, a useful definition of bilingual education must be flexible enough to meet the specific needs of each community. Two things must be considered: the bilingual situation in a particular community, and the kind of language program appropriate to that situation.

Table 2 lists the number of schools operated by the Alaska State Operated School System (ASOSS) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) by language situation and whether some form of bilingual programming currently is in operation, or expected to be in the near future. As can be seen, a sizeable proportion of situations still remain with unmet bilingual programming needs. Also, the proportion of current unmet needs in the type C communities where, understandably, the greatest potential controversy exists on the role of native languages in the curriculum. Clearly, in such cases, the native language would have to undergo extensive community-wide revival of a magnitude capable of sustaining it as an instructional medium. On the other hand teaching the native language as a second language (NSL) in such cases might well be considered an integral part of that aspect of the curriculum devoted to enriching the child's sense of cultural roots.

Definitions that rule "ordinary foreign language teaching" out as bilingual education do so because it is taught as a subject matter and not used as a medium of instruction. While it would follow, then, that NSL programs would suffer the same exclusion logically, NSL is not inconsistent

Table 2

Numbers of ASOSS and BIA Alaskan Schools by 1974 language situation and bilingual program status

	Language situation[a]							
	A		B		C			
Agency	Tot.	No. with Bil. Program[b]	Tot.	No. with Bil. Program	Tot.	No. with Bil. Program	Tot.	No. with Bil. Program
ASOSS	15	10	17	7	66	35	98	52
BIA	25	10	15	1	12	0	52	11
Total[c]	40	20	32	8	78	35	150	63

a. Source: Krauss, Alaska Native Language Center Report, Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1973.

b. Source: Personal communications with Kathy Perrin, ANEB; Frank Berry, JOM; Baxter Wood, ASOSS; and cross reference of various agency directories.

c. Information on Alaska independent school districts was unavailable at the time of this report.

with the probable intent of all definitions of bilingual education.

Once again, quoting Gaarder (1967), the following is a main reason listed for using a minority community language in the school curriculum:

> to avoid the alienation from family and linguistic community that is commonly the price of rejection of one's mother tongue and of complete assimilation into the dominant linguistic group. (emphasis added).

These purposes are well served if indigenous language teaching is included even where it no longer is used in the home, because in the home and in the child there may still reside a cultural, historical, and familiar connection with that language and its associated culture. Such connections are organic whereas the Alaska native child's potential connection to French, German, or Spanish are not. His native language, even though disused, is part of his emotional and cognitive structure in a way no other language, perhaps save English, could ever be.

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TEACHING NATIVE LANGUAGE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

by

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Natives in Alaska want to revive and maintain their languages. Members of each community now realize that extinction of their language will be sure and swift if their children do not learn it. Therefore, they have turned to the schools, which have been a powerful force in suppressing Native language, to reverse the process and save the language by teaching it to the children, many of whom have not learned it at home.

Is it wise to expect so much from schools when their record for teaching competence in second—i.e., foreign—languages is abysmally poor? Do people realize that children can really learn Native language only by using it at home and in the community? Dependence on a school program to teach the children Native language if adults in the community continue habits of speaking only English, is sure to hasten the extinction of the language. It is essential, then, that people concerned with the survival of the language ask how, where, and by whom **can** Native language be taught. The best answer is simply that home, school, and community **all** teach by the only sure method for learning any language, using it in all facets of communication. In many communities, however, this method has become an impossibility as a generation has already grown to adulthood without command of their Native language. In other communities, it would be a process of extreme frustration for adults and children alike to begin to try to communicate in a language which the children do not understand. Most speakers of a language can only use it, not teach it or even understand how it works. The problem, then, if communities do want to use the language, is who should teach it to the non-speakers and how.

All Native speakers should be teachers of the language, in the home, in the community, and in the school; but this means that they need to learn how to teach it as a second language. If the community truly wants to maintain a viable language in active use, then it must assume the responsibility for learning how to teach it. No longer can language workshops be only for bi-lingual teachers; they must be for all speakers in the community. Everybody will learn to read and write stories of their experiences, memories, ideas, and feelings. And, most important, everyone will learn some way to teach their language as a second language.

People need a way to teach that is easy to learn and seems fairly natural to use. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate an active method for teaching a second language through real communication and to suggest procedures for developing effective lessons and teaching materials. The activities suggested are most effective in groups, however the terms "teacher" and "class" should not suggest limiting the use of these techniques to the school. A class can be any group of children, teen-agers, or adults; and the teacher is any Native speaker who is willing to undertake the discipline of leading the group. Classes may be held in school, homes, or the community center.

An Active Method for Teaching Real Communication in a Second Language

(All material printed in *italics* is to be expressed in the Native language.)

To be effective, second language teaching should involve teacher, students, and Native language speakers physically, mentally, emotionally, and socially in learning experiences that will make them feel good about themselves, each other, the language being learned, their capacity for learning, and the value of communication. A good first lesson is:

I'm Ginny. You are _____

The teacher, or leader, sits in a small circle of students and gets them to identify themselves and each other. Then the teacher points to each one, asking:

Who is this?

After this lesson it is not difficult to proceed with further identification:

I'm a woman. This is a man. Are you a man or a woman?
I'm a teacher. Are you a teacher or a student?
Are you Eskimo or Indian?

Soon it should be possible to go around the circle with everyone identifying themselves in various roles, the teacher beginning:

I'm Ginny. I'm a woman. I'm a teacher.

Afterwards each participant recalls what someone else has said:

You are _____ *You are* _____.

Of course there are a number of possible ways to identify yourself, such as *My name is* _____, or *I'm called* _____. Beginning with *I'm* _____, however, enables a teacher to expand the use of subject pronoun and linking verb to add vocabulary that has real meaning for the participants so that from the first lesson they are communicating, not just mimicking or naming things.

Lessons progress in a sequence of increasingly complex grammar objectives. Each lesson typically includes: (1) teaching activities for presenting a new grammar concept; (2) talking activities introducing new vocabulary; (3) making books to illustrate open-ended, emotionally involving questions; and (4) social activities to stimulate use of the language in the community.

Teaching Activities

Teaching activities physically involve students with actions, objects, and people at the same time they are learning the words describing them. These activities are brief, only continuing long enough for students to be able to say what the teacher intends for them to learn and to understand what they mean when they say it.

Talking Activities

These activities, such as interviews or talking about pictures, get students mentally involved, associating the language with mental images of actions, people, and things. There is considerable mental involvement in all the activities of this method—the active thinking necessary to generalize the use of the language to create new utterances or use familiar ones in new situations.

Activity of Making Books

The open-ended questions add a dimension of emotional involvement as they deal with what people like to do, what is important to them. Answering open-ended questions requires a vocabulary which teachers cannot anticipate. Therefore, it is suggested that students make quick drawings to illustrate their answers. This activity ends with a conversation circle in which all participants, including the teacher, share their answers to the question, illustrating their meaning with the pictures they have drawn.

Social Activities

Social involvement with Native-speaking members of the community is sought by asking students to find out answers to a variety of questions. Such assignments are usually directed toward a student's parents or grandparents. Since some students may not have Native-speaking families, it would be of great value for the teacher to help such students "adopt" Native-speaking grandparents. Daily activities requiring active use of the language in the community are vital to the success of the teaching program and to the very survival of languages in danger of dying out of use. Planning such activities and having them reported in the class are of utmost importance.

Choice of Language

The lesson modeled here is printed in a combination of roman type and italics for the purpose of discriminating between the language that students will learn to use in the lesson and other teacher-talk—directions, commands, conversation—that students may understand only in a very general way. Everything written in italics in the model lesson is instructional material—to be expressed in simple, direct Native language which teachers will expect their students to learn to understand and use rather well. Teachers' directions to students should also be in the Native language but they will vary according to the students' previous experience with the language. Teachers can experiment with making themselves understood with gestures, pictures, and demonstrations. They should be very careful to make students feel comfortable and secure in understanding—at liberty to say "I don't understand."

A MODEL LESSON

OBJECTIVES

Behavioral objective: Students describe physical activities; respond to commands.

Grammar objective: Students use:

"I'm, you're, he's/she's _____ ing"

Construction *like to. . .*

TEACHING

Introduce the vocabulary and the verb conjugations by demonstrating a physical activity, saying what you are doing, and then telling someone to do it. Students can recognize commands by your gestures.

I'm walking. (Student A), *walk!*

I'm running. (Student B), *run!*

I'm jumping. (Student C), *jump!*

I'm crawling **(Student D)**, *crawl!*

While the students continue the various activities, ask:

Who's walking?
Who's running?
Who's jumping?
Who's crawling?
What is **(Student A)** *doing?*
(Student A), *what are you doing?*

Continue with all students. Change persons doing activities and give everyone the opportunity to act and talk. Seat students in circle with activities around the outside of the circle. If the class is large, make two circles, one inside the other. Have the outer circle do the activities and the inner circle talk; then reverse positions.

TALKING

With teacher and students sitting together in a circle, ask some questions about what students like to do. New vocabulary can be explained by gestures, demonstrations, or pictures. Encourage the students to ask each other and you.

Do you like to walk or do you like to crawl?
Do you like to run or do you like to jump?

Continue with other activities, indicating the action by pantomime.

MAKING A BOOK

In a conversation circle, ask the open-ended question:

What do you like to do?

Since the students will not know the words to describe the activities they like, let them draw pictures. Give each student paper and drawing materials and have them draw pictures of what they like to do. While they are drawing, walk around looking at the pictures and asking:

What do you like to do? Ah, you like to **(name of activity).**
Do you like to. . .?

Let the student answer and then write under the picture:

I like to **(name of activity).**

When the pictures are finished, form the circle and ask the question, letting all the students show their pictures and answer. Then have the students recall all the answers:

(Student's name), *you like to* (name of activity).

The teacher participates also, with a picture and an answer. When the activity is finished, collect all the pictures and fasten them together with a cover, making a book for the library shelf.

The emphasis is on the personal use of the language—being emotionally involved with the significance of words and structures. Therefore, the class environment is most helpful if there is a comfortable atmosphere of acceptance and a willingness to experiment.

TALKING AT HOME

Have students ask five people in the community what they like to do. The next day, in a conversation circle, get students to report what each person they talked to likes to do. Afterwards each student recalls what another student said.

Development of New Lessons

Native speakers can learn to create new lessons and audio-visual materials; however, they probably need the help of a linguist to discover what are the basic grammar concepts of their language. They need to think about how they ask and answer such questions as:

Who is this?
What is this?
What is ___ doing? What did ___ do? What is ___ going to do?
Who is doing it? (Singular, dual, plural)
Who is he (are they) doing it to? (Singular, dual, plural)
How? When? Where? Why?

They need to decide in what order to teach the grammar concepts and what vocabulary to use, taking into consideration what is necessary to beginning conversation and the degree of difficulty for the learner. The greatest difficulties teachers face are limiting their own language to what their students can understand and limiting their teaching to one grammar concept at a time. This can best be done by working out a detailed lesson plan for each day.

New lessons can be patterned after the model by following these steps:

1. Determine the specific grammar objective—that is, the prefix, verb, stem, postbase, verb ending, noun case, etc.—that students need to learn.
2. Determine the behavior objective for the kind of language situation to be mastered.
3. Think of specific physical actions that will demonstrate the meaning of the word or concept and give students the opportunity to use it over and over again with questions and answers for each of the three persons **I, you, he/she.**

   Example 1

   The teacher sits with a few students in a circle and hands them small tools.

Teacher:	Student:
Mike, give me the screwdriver, please.	
Who gave me the screwdriver?	*Mike gave it to you.*
Mike, ask me for the wrench.	*Give me the wrench, please.*
Did I give Mike the wrench?	*Yes, you gave it to him.*
Mike, did I give you the wrench?	*Yes, you gave it to me.*

4. Plan interviews, games, or other talking activities that will involve students with each other using the new vocabulary and grammar concepts. Talking activities develop mental involvement. They broaden the scope of the lesson from what is simply available in the immediate surroundings to things that may be of more interest to students or more appropriate to Native culture. Audio-visual materials—dialogs or stories with illustrations—are very effective. These are recorded and used with questions and answers that help students to discern the various components of sentences and words.

   Example 2

   Project a picture of a young Eskimo working on

his snow machine, and play the tape or language master: *Roger's working on his Sno-go.*

Teacher:	Recording:	Student:
Who's this?	*Roger's working on his Sno-go.*	*It's Roger.*
What's this?	*Roger's working on his Sno-go.*	*It's a Sno-go.*
Whose Sno-go is it?	*Roger's working on his Sno-go.*	*It's Roger's.*
Is it Roger's Snow-go?	*Roger's working on his Sno-go.*	*Yes, it's his Sno-go.*
What's Roger doing?		*He's working on his Sno-go.*
Who's working on his Sno-go?		*Roger's working on his Sno-go.*

5. Think of an open-ended question that will require the use of the grammar concept just learned—a question that will be a good theme for making a book. Personal questions, such as those in the following example, get students emotionally involved.

Example 3

What do you like to do?
What do you have that makes you feel good?
Where do you like to be?
What makes you happy? Sad?
What do you do very well?
What bothers you or makes you angry?

When did you learn to__(a number of accomplishments)?
When did you first__ (activities)?
What have you done that made you feel good? When did you do it?
What has someone done for you that made you feel good?
What have you done for someone that made them feel good?

What does someone tell you to do? Who says it, and how does it make you feel?
What did someone used to tell you to do?

What are you going to do tomorrow? What would you like to do tomorrow?
What are you going to do next summer? What would you do if you could?

6. Make up grammar-practice questions to use with books that students make.

Example 4

From the student-made book **What Do You Like to Do?** the teacher reads:
I like to fish.

Teacher:
Who is this?
What is **A** *doing?*
In the picture, is **A** *fishing?*
Is **A** *fishing now?*
B, *ask* **A** *if he is fishing.*
C, *ask* **A** *if he likes to fish:*
Does **A** *like to fish?*
D, *ask* **A** *what he likes to do.*

These questions and answers make good worksheets if they are written out, leaving words or parts of words blank for students to fill in, as in the following example.

Example 5

Mary likes to fish.

Who is this?	*This is ____ .*
What is Mary doing?	*She's fishing.*
Is she fishing?	*Yes, ___ fishing.*
____ Mary fishing?	*Yes, _____ .*
Mary, are you ____ ?	*Yes, I'm ____ .*
Mary, what ____ you doing?	*_____ .*
Do you like to fish?	*Yes, I ____ to fish.*
Mary, what _____ like to do?	*_____ .*
Does Mary like ____ fish?	*She likes ____ .*
Who likes to ____ ?	*Mary _____ fish.*

Sam likes to dance.

Who is this?	*This is ____ .*
What is Sam ____ ?	*He's dancing.*
Is ____ dancing?	*Yes, _____ .*
Who's _____ ?	*Sam's____ dancing.*
Sam, do you like to dance?	*_____ .*
____ Sam like _____ ?	*_____ .*

Worksheets are made for each class of verbs so that morphological or orthographic changes are observed by contrast, as in *fish: fishing; dance: dancing.* If worksheets are made for each grammatical structure, using such conversational topics as those in Example 3, then students will write their own grammar workbooks.

7. Plan social activities that will motivate students to talk Native with people in the community and learn from them. Each question used to make a book can be used for homework activity as well. Have students ask five people in the community and return to class to report what they have learned. Invite people to come to the class for an interview or to talk about their interests. Exploit the resources of the community to make the use of the language as lively, interesting, and stimulating as possible.

Conclusion

These lessons will help Native language speakers teach language in a functional way and use it in simple, but real, communication with beginning students. A series of such lessons for learning Inupiaq Eskimo have been written and used successfully at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks. They have also been used in the Barrow schools and translated for use in the Nome-Beltz High School. Similar lessons are being incorporated into a curriculum for teaching Yupik as a second language from kindergarten through high school.

So far, however, there has been little training for teachers in developing and using such lessons and no wide-spread training of all the speakers of any community in teaching their language to non-speakers. The need is great; only if every speaker is teacher and every child is using the language will the survival of Native language be assured.

IDENTITY SYMBOLS AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE: SOME FUNCTIONS OF SPEECH FORMS IN RURAL ALASKA

by

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Despite their homongeneous appearance to an outsider, Alaska Native communities often contain a variety of sub-groups which are delineated in both overt and subtle ways. When a particular speech form is used to delineate these group differences, the speech cannot be fully understood apart from the context in which it occurs. Often this context cannot readily be discovered or understood by those who do not share the same cultural or social experiences as the participants. But understanding the nature of the differences is secondary in a process in which one must first of all realize that differences do, in fact, exist. Often, by careful observation, teachers and others will be able to pick up cues that will help them order their experiences and responses in a linguistically appropriate manner, even though much of the implicit meaning underlying the relationship may never be fully understood. Speech forms may constitute many kinds of unspoken assumptions that an outsider may never know, but if he realizes that certain speech forms and social acts may represent specific problems and functions in group identification he may be able to increase effective interaction with the participants of these groups.

Barth (1969) argues that close attention to, and analysis of, boundary maintenance systems and the social organization of group differences may yield valuable information regarding the nature of groups which interact with each other. The forms of interaction that reveal group boundaries may tell us more about the internal structures of those groups than studies dealing with the cultural traits of a specific group. He suggests a focus of investigation that deals with boundaries of groups and the systems that maintain them, rather than with the cultural context of the separate group or groups.

The following observations and comments concerning some functions which speech forms may serve in rural Alaskan communities represent an initial attempt to address a particular set of concerns about language function which have been a neglected part of the training for new teachers going into Alaskan bush schools. Such information may also be useful for any other persons who live or work in a social environment which is different from that with which they have previously been familiar.

In this paper, I will discuss ways in which forms of speech function to delineate boundaries between sub-groups in some Alaskan communities. I will look, in part, at the cultural (speech) and organizational requirements for certain systems of boundary maintenance between groups and between specific value spheres.

Language is often cited as an indispensable component in the maintenance of group identity and boundaries; this implies that language variations are necessary for generating specific groups and for maintaining their identities. Such variations are viewed as being the primary factor in generating group solidarity and in making minifest group boundaries. Recent sociolinguistic findings, however, indicate that "significant differences in speech

between various kinds of groups that are in frequent contact are not, in themselves, responsible for the establishment and maintenance of group boundaries. These differences rather reflect features of social organization through a process of social codification, and thus serve as idioms of identification with particular group values, whether santioned internally or forced upon the group by outsiders" (Blum 1969: 83).

In many situations, the relevant structure for communication of group boundaries is speech **form** rather than the language itself. DeVos (1975: 16) suggests that group identity can even be maintained by minor differences in linguistic patterns and by style of gesture.

The processes of group identity can be illustrated on a continuum starting with interaction to establish personal identity and extending to people interacting to make manifest a national identity. I would like to deal with a smaller continuum representing what I feel are the major components in group identity processes people experience in Rural Alaska. At one end of this continuum is the situation in which people of the same group go through the mechanics of establishing rules of identity. This often takes place in an intra-ethnic or intra-group context. Further along the continuum, another point which represents perhaps the halfway mark, is the situation in which different groups interact with each other in defining their boundaries. This could be referred to as inter-group interaction and basically deals with social identity rather than ethnic identity. At the other end of the continuum, I would describe the situation as being where people and groups are seen by a broader group—Rural Alaskans affiliated in some sense, usually in the sharing at some level of values. These three situations or contexts are obviously not mutually exclusive and indeed overlap in many ways, but they are representative of points on the continuum and can be used as a heuristic devise to illustrate the point.

The three contexts thus can generally be described as follows:

1. Broadest context of the Rural Alaskan life style.
2. Inter-group affiliation within specific communities of the broader Rural Alaska context.
3. Intra-group affiliation, usually seen in the context of the ethnic identification processes.

What I will be concerned with here is the codification of speech forms and their use as idioms of identification and their function in delineating inter and intra-group spheres within these contexts.

Rural Alaska Lifestyle as a Group

In Alaska, there are numerous Native groups, identified as Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut in the broadest sense. And among these groups there are many sub-groups differentiating themselves by language, culture or geographical location. Although each village is unique in its own right, the majority of Natives and others living in what is often referred to as "the bush," have similar experiences in terms of the physical, social and political environment, which cause them to see themselves as belonging to a special class of people. There is general feeling that sharing these experiences gives one an affiliation with the group. This "group," as one can imagine, has a rather amorphous nature, and boundary lines are highly flexible and fluid depending upon the specific situation in which the boundaries of this value sphere are identified. Whether the individual is accepted into the fold of his

or her group depends on many things, including the specific experiences and the ability to send out recognizable and accepted signals identifying oneself with group membership. These signals will be received and translated by the group, and the level of participation in the group activities will thus be determined. There is a limit to the level of participation, depending on the specific experiences of both the individual looking for recognition and the receiving group.

I would like to share an experience which I think demonstrates how identity signals are received and translated into admittance into specific group value spheres. This example illustrates how a specific speech form, a "village dialect" of English, was the overt signal which alerted an audience to my background and allowed me to share in certain experiences with that particular group. Working with the Alaska Federation of Natives, I had occasion to visit the villages of Gambell and Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island. On one of the first visits, I went in with a number of state and federal officials who also had business in these villages. In Savoonga, we met as a group with the Indian Reorganization Act Committee, school board, and other interested people. During a break of our all-too-familiar show and tell program, an Eskimo woman asked if I was part Eskimo or Indian and if I was from some village. There were no physical characteristics to make me stand out from the State and Federal people who were on the same program. I assured her that I was neither Eskimo nor Indian, but had spent considerable time in the Tlingit community of Kake. She replied she suspected as much because "you talk like us." Evidently during my presentation I had inadvertently slipped into a form of village dialect which she recognized. The use of this speech form identified me as having had some experience in a rural community, at least enough for me to have picked up some use of the village dialect. It implied much more, and after being asked more specific questions about my years at Kake, I was accepted as a member of the group, at least up to certain specified levels. Use of village dialect was an overt signal which allowed me admittance to the sharing of certain activities which were denied the other visitors, including invitations to visit homes for tea and meals and to share sleeping quarters rather than being bunked in the school. The use of village dialect contained overt signals with positive attributes allowing for inter-action in value spheres that would otherwise have been denied. This is **not** to suggest that outsiders consciously attempt to use village dialect as a means of gaining admittance to a village community, but only to illustrate my point regarding some functions which speech forms serve.

Although the above example is one which shows speech form as a positive attribute, there have been, and are, situations where such signals are clearly received and translated as a stigma. The following examples illustrate how village dialect can be translated as a negative signal which can result in classifying the dialect speaker to an inferior status.

In many situations, especially inter-group interaction, village dialect functions as a stigma, an overt sign or signal, usually negative in connotation, identifying a person as belonging to a certain category. Stigma is an attribute which distinguishes between **virtual** social identity and **actual** social identity of individuals or groups. Virtual social identity is the characterization of an individual based on what others feel a person should be. The characterization of an individual based on the person as he exists constitutes his actual social identity. If these characteristic attributes are negative, so that the person is

viewed as less than his virtual social identity, then these attributes may be classified as stigmas and constitute a special discrepancy between virtual and actual identities (Goffman 1969: 3). However, the stigma **per se** is not the discrediting factor so much as the relationship of those involved in the process of identifying the stigma.

One example of speech as stigma can be seen as reticence on the part of many Native people to discuss or communicate with members of the dominant culture, reflecting a feeling of inadequacy in their ability to express themselves properly, explicitly, and articulately. For many village people, the self-perceived inability to express themselves effectively in a standard or acceptable dialect of English will often cause them to remain silent, rather than to give themselves away as poor speakers.

In reality, however, village dialect can actually enhance a given communication, since certain social and cultural phenomena may be made more meaningful when communicated through a particular form of speech. For example, certain personal relationships have categorical values that are best expressed within a particular form of speech, one of which may be village dialect. Emphasis on particular phenomena through specific speech forms may make manifest a meaning that could not be duplicated by standard English. Nevertheless, many see this form of village English as a stigma and avoid situations in which such "incompetence" could be recognized. This reluctance to speak in certain situations may be internally sanctioned, though such internal values often have outside pressures as their sources.

This, I would suggest, is the origin of the following example. In this situation, village dialect is seen as a stigma by another group, usually some form of the dominant culture, such as a bureaucracy, educational institution or other formal organization. When people speak in a village dialect, they are often stigmatized as incompetent and inept in understanding the ways of the organization or person being addressed. Being identified and placed in such a category often results in being talked down to in a patronizing and derogatory manner.

An example of this can be seen in the client relationship between Natives and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) General Assistance program when the program was operated out of the BIA headquarters in Fairbanks and managed for the most part by career employees. There was much dissatisfaction expressed by the Native clients, who stated that there was little understanding on the part of the BIA Assistance officers and that they were always "talked down to." BIA employees often complained that the Natives could not manage money or that they drank it up. But what was extremely important, in terms of the issue here, was the frequency that the comment was made by BIA personnel that the Natives could not even speak "proper English." My limited field observations suggest that those who spoke a village dialect were treated differently from those who spoke standard English with a minimum of dialectal variation.

When local Native organizations later contracted with the BIA to administer the General Assistance program, Athabascan and Eskimo case workers were hired and there was, in general, a change in attitude toward the relationship between client and case worker. At this time, I had the opportunity to observe at close hand many client transactions, and one thing absent in the interaction was complaints by caseworkers about the Natives not speaking proper English. There was also more informal communication

between client and worker, and though I made no systematic comparison, I suspect there was much more interaction then than there had been between the client and the career BIA employee under the old system. I would like to emphasize that there were a great many factors influencing these interaction situations and ensuing attitudes; however, the speech form which had previously functioned as a stigma was now removed as an intervening variable.

As Alaska Natives move into positions of influence, they are becoming less concerned about village dialect and other overt signals which were once perceived by themselves and others as stigma. They are now speaking out without fear and shifting the responsibility of understanding to the listening party.

This last example has several interesting implications that may be worthwhile to discuss. When the BIA was running the program the interaction was inter-ethnic, that is, it was basically Native interacting with another socio-cultural group, the BIA. Shultz (1972: 15) states that inter-ethnic encounters tend to be characterized by a lack of intimacy, and that participants usually prefer to discuss only "safe" topics, that is topics which tend not to get personal, such as weather, formal business, et cetera. This type of communication makes for some measure of social distance, and where one group or participant is dominant the distance becomes vertical as well as horizontal. When the reorganization of the General Assistance program came about and Native people were hired and the participation took place in the local Native Center, the type of interaction changed—it became intra-ethnic. Shultz (1972: 16) describes intro-ethnic encounters as more intimate and less concerned with institutional identification. Although the context of relationships tended to be impersonal and bureaucratic, it was couched in an ethnic context as well, which made for a much different quality of relationships. Ethnicity establishes a more informal context for interaction because of its known historical and social relationships.

Inter-Group Identification Processes

I will now focus on the boundary maintenance processes that take place at another level of group identification—that of various sub-groups within larger community or regional contexts—and how speech forms are used by such groups as methods of delineating and recognizing group boundaries. The identity process on this level is mostly social, although ethnicity can be a factor in many of the situations.

Perhaps a comment on social identity is in order. In most Alaskan communities there is a "lot of action." The source of this action comes from increased economic opportunity and increased political power, the two main phenomena behind these increases are the Trans-Alaska Pipeline and the Alaska Natives Claims Settlement Act. There is no need to go into detail about the effects these have had on rural Alaska, except to say that they have brought great social, economic, and political changes throughout the State. So much so in fact, that there has been a trend toward the formation of new groups along economic and political lines. As Wax (1974: 165) has indicated elsewhere, being a contemporary Indian may be a matter of social and political identity, as well as cultural identity. The nature of interaction between groups at this level is less formal than the previous level, but for the most part still revolves around "safe" topics. Again speech forms can play important roles in identifying and helping maintain the boundaries of the

group though this first example involves village dialect, the use of the Native language and its function as stigma occurs in a less overt and more subtle way than the previous examples. These situations were observed in the communication structures and patterns in a rural elementary school. I knew the teacher and most of the students fairly well, and for the most part I attempted to play the passive observer, being fairly unobtrusive and not interfering noticeably with any interaction taking place. There were eleven children in the classroom (grades 1 through 4) and the teacher. The students sat in a semi-circle around the chalkboard. The teacher used this central location when something had to be written on the chalkboard or when some general information was given to the whole class.

As the teacher helped an individual student, the remaining children would often start to talk to one another. The talking was not loud, and had a sort of constant, buzzing effect. Occasionally the teacher would interrupt her discussions with individual students to warn the class to be quiet and continue with their work. After several instances of this, it was noticeable that the teacher spoke directly to two particular children most of the time. There was not noticeable loud talking from these two to distinguish them from other students when they were reprimanded for making too much noise. It seemed that the other children were making similar levels of noise, although there was no accurate way in which the noise level could be measured.

What did become distinguishable upon closer observation was occasional use of the Native language by the students. It was when these two students, and occasionally others, would speak their Native tongue that the teacher would respond, as though the sound of the Native language was an indicator of distraction. When the Native language became audible to the teacher, for whatever reason, her attention was attracted and she responded by reprimanding those children who were perceived as "making noise." The evidence is not sufficient to suggest anything except that on this particular day in this particular school it seems that the teacher responded unconsciously to the Native language as excessive noise, in that sense a stigma. This phenomenon is discussed in Lambert (1964) in more detail where he deals with individual responses and attitudes to a comparable statement in two languages or dialects. The above is a similar situation in which two languages are being used and one language elicits a more favorable response than the other.

One of the things that has happened here is a break in the primary group identity through the encroachment of symbols from another group. The primary group is the class which includes the teacher. When several students start talking the Native language, signals are being transmitted that indicate they are acting as a different group, to the exclusion of others, most importantly to the exclusion of the teacher. There are a number of ways in which this process could establish in-group/out-group relationships; Kutchin/Non-Kutchin, speakers, Teacher/Students, or Native/Non-Native. However these relationships were interpreted, group boundaries were made visible by speech form which elicited alternative response by the parties involved.

Another example of the function of village dialect in maintaining boundaries occurred in a relatively large rural community, where the outward appearance provides very few overt signs of the various sub-cultures

that live within the community. However, there are, as in most communities, many different groups with different value systems, all of which are differentiated by specific though fluid boundaries. Sometimes speech form becomes one of the instruments used to distinguish these different spheres of values.

One faction of young people in this community perceives themselves as belonging to a higher social class than some of the others namely, the less educated and those from the smaller villages. They often speak disparagingly about the "dumb Indians," who are often identified as being unable to read, write and speak standard English. The comment, "The dumb Indian, he can't even write or speak right," is often bandied about. I observed a group of these young people for a time when they discussed the "dumb Indians . . . ." All the participants were Native themselves. My presence was probably not a factor, since I was in the bedroom babysitting and few of the group were aware of my presence. As the discussion progressed, it became apparent to some of the participants that the label "dumb Indians" may be putting themselves outside the identity boundaries of generalized "Indians," as seen by the people of this area. Before they reached this stage of introspection, the group began consciously using exaggerated village dialect. The juxtaposition of the forms of speech was used to create stylistic effect depicting the speakers' attitudes. It was done as an act of reaffirmation of identity with the larger group, and their identity as "Indian" was reinstated and verified by use of this particular form of speech. This exaggerated use of village dialect declared their ability to cross boundaries and to participate in two value sub-systems while maintaining their identity as "Indian," an activity in which the "dumb Indians" could not engage.

It is interesting that these students turned to village dialect instead of their Native language to reaffirm their identities. One of the reasons is that many young people in this area do not speak their Native tongue. The village dialect, therefore, represented an overt signal of group characterization used to establish group and individual identity. In this particular case, village dialect was perceived both as a stigma and as a positive symbol in identifying particular group boundaries in the same sphere of interaction.

Personal and Ethnic Contexts of Group Identification

The third level of identification process I wish to discuss is the function of speech form in maintaining ethnic identification. The major difference between ethnic identity refers to direct cultural and historical relationships between people. Ethnicity is defined here in the narrow sense, in that it is past oriented and is primarily a sense of belonging to a particular ancestry and sharing specific cultural phenomenon as language, religion and other traits (DeVos 1975: 19). This level of intra-ethnic interaction is characterized by higher levels of intimacy than the other two, and in fact intimacy seems to be the main structure of the interaction.

The city of Ft. Yukon is not a traditional village site, but was a central trading place for the nearby villages, and after the Hudson Bay trading post was established, it became the largest population center on the upper Yukon. Many of the inhabitants of Ft. Yukon are from the surrounding villages and although there are situations in which people interact and see themselves as Ft. Yukoners, the more common focus of identity is ethnic. Ethnic identity is an important factor in dealing with problems, particularly when conflict

is involved. These problems may be personal, social, economical or other, but support of one's primary ethnic affiliation is very important in the solution of these conflict situations. The following example relates how, in a conflict situation, speech form was used to emphasize ethnic differences.

In certain situations, even standard English may imply stigmatic characteristics. In this instance, a young lady had some sort of conflict with one of her friends in which the argument grew heated. She later expressed her actions and feelings as follows: "I really told her off! I told her off in my **very best English!**" The unmistakable innuendo here is that being told off in proper English was a real insult. The implication of being "cussed out" in proper English is that that person had to be spoken to in proper English, and that she is less than "Indian." It implies that the person is outside specific group boundaries and requires a specific form of speech for comprehension. The symbolic message of understanding only proper English makes that form of speech a stigma to the person to whom it is spoken.

In this instance, village dialect can be seen as a restricted form of speech or code to be used only where trusted "Indian" identities are necessary for the interaction. Eidheim (1969) gives similar examples of this among the Lapps and Norwegians, where Lapp is spoken at certain times to those who are known to share similar social identities and value spheres.

In another example, there was a group of young women visiting my house, staying over to catch a plane back to their village. They were sitting around talking about various things when the question of language came up. The girls proceeded to test one another on their abilities to speak the Native language effectively. After establishing that each was an "expert," they proceeded to discuss how others spoke the language differently and perhaps not quite as correctly. One of the girls would say something imitating the dialect from another village, and the other girls would gleefully laugh and joke about how "funny" the other villages spoke the language. Soon another girl would start in by saying, "Here, let me show you how (such and such) people say something." Then, to much laughter and ridicule of the dialect, she would proceed. This became a major source of entertainment for them and lasted for some time. One of the things that was happening here was that the girls were reaffirming themselves as a special ethnic group and at the same time identifying those dialects by which they can differentiate between members of their group and outsiders.

Summary and Implications

As I have tried to illustrate, speech forms are often much more complex and influential than they appear on first observation. In this paper I have examined a number of diverse speech forms and tried to show how they function in identifying and maintaining group boundaries. Although there are a number of ways in which speech forms complete this task, the two with which I have been primarily concerned are how speech forms are perceived as having stigmatic attributes and how they are used as identity symbols, depending upon the social context in which they are used.

If indeed, identity maintenance is an important process in the functioning of small communities, knowledge of that process should be of considerable value to teachers, both as educators and members of the community.

There are some differences, however, in how identity-related processes

can affect non-Native and Native teachers. When non-Native teachers are in a rural Native community, they are often strangers to the complex web of group affiliation that is so typical of these communities. As teachers become more aware of these processes and the underlying structure of local group identities this knowledge can be influential in establishing relationships within the community. On one level at least, the non-Native person can often act with immunity to sanctions against improper behavior by virtue of her/his role as a learner. It is not uncommon for teachers to be given great latitude in their behavior and interaction patterns because of their unfamiliarity with locally established patterns. The communities appear to have a high tolerance for learners, by allowing such persons to make both quantitatively and qualitatively more mistakes than would normally be tolerated. But non-Native teachers become aware of the new social situations with which they are confronted, and they learn the new roles that these situations require. They are expected to behave in an appropriate manner.

The Native teachers too are involved in the identity maintenance process, but in a way different from that of the non-Native teachers. If the Native teachers are within their own cultural milieu, they already know a great deal about the various groups and sub-groups within the milieu. But the Native teachers are a part of that system themselves and are, therefore, more intimately involved with the interaction. One of the differences in the relationships being the level of intimacy as described in intra-ethnic as contrasted with inter-ethnic encounters.

The Native teacher, being so closely related to the social system, may find that the knowledge of group identities is restrictive rather than helpful in dealing with specific problems. The tolerance for error is much less for these teachers, as they have two positions, one as teacher and one as community member, and, therefore, are not accorded the tolerance given to the non-Native "learner."

Referring to the example of Native language as an indicator of noise level, a Native teacher would probably not be forgiven for the same behavior if it was known. On the other hand, it is improbable that a Native teacher would have responded in the same manner.

The new role the Native acquires as a teacher may enhance her/his social prestige, but the added requirement of acceptable community behavior required of the dual roles may be a source of serious conflict.

I see the solution as perhaps not a dual role situation, but as group identities are being redefined with the ensuing economic and political change taking place, new roles will emerge for "Native teachers." Although the nature of these roles is speculative, it will probably require a new set of expectations and identity more consistent with the existing social order.

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